

Engaging youth on their own terms?
An actor-network theory account of hip-hop in youth work.

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the Degree of

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by

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Abstract

With origins in the South Bronx area of New York in the early 1970s, hip-hop culture is now produced and consumed globally. While hip-hop activities can be varied, hip-hop is generally considered to have four forms or “elements”: DJing, MCing, b-boying/b-girling, and graffiti. Although all four elements of hip-hop have become a part of many youth work initiatives across the globe, public debate and controversy continue to surround hip-hop activities. Very little research and literature has explored the complexities involved in the assembling of hip-hop activities in youth work sites of practice using these hip-hop elements. This study attends to the gap in hip-hop and human service literature by tracing how hip-hop activities were assembled in several sites of youth work activity in Christchurch, New Zealand.

Actor-network theory (ANT) is the methodological framework used to map the assemblage of hip-hop-youth work activities in this study. ANT follows how action is distributed across both human and non-human actors. By recognising the potential agency of “things”, this research traces the roles played by human actors, such as young people and youth workers, together with those of non-human actors such as funding documents, social media, clothing, and youth venue equipment. This ethnographic study provides rich descriptions or “snapshots” of some of the key socio-material practices that shaped the enactment of hip-hop-youth work activities. These are derived from fieldwork undertaken between October 2009 and December 2011, where participant observation took place across a range of sites of hip-hop-youth work activity. In addition to this fieldwork, formal interviews were undertaken with 22 participants, the majority being youth workers, young people, and youth trust administrators.

The ANT framework reveals the complexity of the task of assembling hip-hop in youth work worlds. The thesis traces the work undertaken by both human and non-human actors in generating youth engagement in hip-hop-youth work activities. Young people’s hip-hop interests are shown to be varied, multiple, and continually evolving. It is also shown how generating youth interest in hip-hop-youth work activities involved overcoming young people’s indifference or lack of awareness of the hip-hop resources a youth trust had on offer. Furthermore, the study highlights where hip-hop activities were edited or “tinkered” with to avoid hip-hop “bads”. The thesis also unpacks how needed resources were enlisted, and how funders’ interests were translated into supporting hip-hop groups and activities. By tracing the range of actors mobilised to enact hip-hop-youth work activities, this research reveals how some youth trusts

could avoid having to rely on obtaining government funds for their hip-hop activities. The thesis also includes an examination of one youth trust's efforts to reconfigure its hip-hop activities after the earthquakes that struck Christchurch city in 2010 and 2011.

Working both in and on the world, the text that is this thesis is also understood as an intervention. This study constitutes a deliberate attempt to strengthen understandings of hip-hop as a complex, multiple, and fluid entity. It therefore challenges traditional media and literature representations that simplify and thus either stigmatise or celebrate hip-hop. As such, this study opens up possibilities to consider the opportunities, as well as the complexities of assembling hip-hop in youth work sites of practice.

Glossary

Actor. Any entity whose influence is felt on others in the network. In ANT an actor can be human or non-human, as it does not require human intentionality (Latour, 2005). An actor is also a black box (Tatnall & Davey, 2005). Understood as an assemblage, an actor can consist of both human and non-human elements.

Actor-network. Not to be understood as a network that enables transport without transformation. It does not have a conventional technical meaning, such as a train, or telephone network. Neither is it understood as a social network (Latour, 1999a). Instead it used to refer to the heterogeneous entities that have become associated together through translation (Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986). The network metaphor is a way to look at relationality, to consider how heterogeneous actors are interrelated or “woven” together (Law & Singleton, 2013, p. 490). Networks can also be referred to as “webs of relations” (Law & Singleton, 2013), “assemblages” (Fenwick, 2010) or “associations” of actors (Latour, 2005).

Association. The elements that cohere together at a particular point in time (Latour, 1999b).

Battle. An informal or formal competition between hip-hop artists practicing the same hip-hop element.

Black box. Contains taken for granted actors that have become enrolled into a network to form an actor. Actors can therefore vary in size, so that the researcher does not need to distinguish between macro or micro levels of the social (Callon, Law and Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987, 2005).

B-boying/B-girling. The dance element of hip-hop (Price, 2006). Formerly known as break dancing (Banes, 1985), and often still referred to as such incorrectly in the media (Fogarty, 2012; Tamati, 2004). Respondents in this study explained that b-boying and breaking both refer to their art form, but that within the community they preferred to

use the term b-boying. In this study I use the term b-boying to describe the dance activities of both b-boys and b-girls. In doing so I follow the participants' use of the term as well as Fogarty (2012), and Smith, Tamati, and Henderson (2010).

B-boy/B-girl. Breaking participants are known as b-boys and b-girls.

Break beats. The instrumental part of a song often characterised by percussion (Price, 2006).

Cypher. Where a group of rappers or b-boy/b-girls gather in a circle and battle or freestyle in an improvised way (Chang, 2007).

DJ. A hip-hop DJ manipulates recorded music to create musical material through cross fading between multiple turntables, and performing turntable scratching. Hip-hop DJ's are also often music producers who create their own beats through turntablism and sampling (Schloss, 2004).

Freestyle. A style of rap in which lyrics are composed without rehearsal. It is therefore mostly improvised (Maxwell, 2003). This term can also be applied to dance or graffiti.

Graffiti. Tags and artwork painted using spray cans.

Hip-hop elements. The foundational components of hip-hop culture. These are identified as b-boying/b-girling; DJing, graffiti and MCing (Price, 2006).

Hip-hop urban dance. "Hip-hop dance" was often used interchangeably by respondents with the terms "urban dance" or "street dance" to refer to the style of hip-hop dance associated with the dance studio. This form of dance is characterised by choreography that combines the different street dance genres together and adds dance studio technique, such as counting beats. While urban or street dance is also used as the umbrella term for the styles of breaking, locking and popping, and more recent derivatives such as krumping, and jerking (Fogarty, 2010), in order to avoid confusion with these specific styles and communities I use the term to refer to the style of dance

associated with dance studios. This dance form's origins lie in the commercialised styles of hip-hop dance seen in street dance movies, as well as in Rap, R'n'B and pop music videos and concerts. Some hip-hop artists involved in underground forms of the hip-hop elements do not class this form of dance as part of hip-hop, and some take offence when the term hip-hop is used to describe the art form (see Gibson, 2003).

Immutable mobile. Something that enables both the stability and mobility of information (Latour, 1987). Examples include documents such as emails or fliers.

Infra-language. Language used in place of meta-language from social theory. It encourages the researcher to describe and follow the actors (Latour, 2005).

Inscriptions. Documents and other communication artefacts (Callon, Law & Rip, 1986).

Interessement. Refers to the phase of translation where the focal actor attempts to create interest in the issue they identify in problematisation so to enrol other actors in the actor-network (Callon, 1986b).

Krumping. An energetic and raw hip-hop dance form that originated in the 1990s in LA. This style of dance is practiced upright, and is characterised by an expression of aggravated energy through syncopated leg stomps, pelvic thrusts, arm jabs and chest palpitation type movements. It is often described as a faith based dance. For these dancers K.R.U.M.P stands for Kingdom Radically Uplifted Mighty Praise.

MC: Rapper.

MCing. Rap. One of the foundational elements of hip-hop.

Mediator. An entity that alters the elements that it conducts (Latour, 1999b, 2005).

Obligatory Passage Point. A point in the form of an assemblage through which other actors must pass. Translation occurs here as the actor's path of action is displaced (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987).

Piece. Short for “masterpiece”. A large and complex work of graffiti, often including multiple colours (Price, 2006).

Programmes of action. Term used by Latour (1991; 1999b) to refer to the goal-directed behaviour of both human and non-human actors. Anti-programmes are the programmes of action of other actors that are in conflict with the association under consideration. Anti-anti-programmes are programmes of action put in place to counter these anti-programmes (Latour, 1999b).

Tag. In graffiti, a simple stylised signature of the artist’s pseudonym (Ministry of Youth Development, 2009b).

Translation. The methods by which connections are built between actors to form a network. Translation involves a displacement through mediation, so that the actors that become connected are no longer the same. Enrolment results from translation (Callon, 1986b; Callon, Law and Rip, 1986; Latour, 1999b).

Underground. The not highly commercialised hip-hop communities and practices that remain “below the radar of the media and mainstream public awareness” (Price, 2006, p. 327). It is defined in opposition to mainstream hip-hop that a range of audiences are familiar with. The underground in this study included the foundational elements as well as more recent additions such as the Krumping community.

Writer. Another term for graffiti artist (Chalfant & Prigoff, 1987).

Chapter One: Introduction

The origins of hip-hop can be traced back to the activities of marginalised inner-city youth in the Bronx district of New York in the 1970s (Price, 2006). Hip-hop has only become increasingly popular since this point, and has become a world-wide phenomenon (Bennett, 1999; Motley & Henderson, 2008). This has resulted in hip-hop cutting across racial and cultural barriers to become one of the most practiced global cultures. Such developments are a result of the ease with which hip-hop has translated into different cultural contexts (Mitchell, 2001a). Reflecting these developments, this thesis provides insights into the ways in which hip-hop activities are assembled in youth work in a city thousands of miles from the Bronx borough of New York City—Christchurch, New Zealand.

Focusing on hip-hop activities in Christchurch, this thesis maps tensions between different versions of hip-hop realities and examines how these were handled in the production of youth work-hip-hop activities in that city. In representing these diverse versions of hip-hop realities, explorations of hip-hop as a complex, multiple, and fluid entity are made. This thesis thus challenges simplistic, dualistic representations of hip-hop in the media and literature that either stigmatise or celebrate hip-hop.

The methodological framework for examining hip-hop activities within this thesis is actor-network theory (ANT). An ANT perspective, often referred to as an “ANT sensibility”, is sensitive to “materiality, relationality, heterogeneity, and process” in relation to what is being studied (Law & Singleton, 2013, p. 485). I draw on this set of sensitivities to investigate the complexity of the task of incorporating hip-hop into youth work.

ANT’s methodology of “following the actors” (Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986) offers a unique approach to studying hip-hop-youth work initiatives, because it allows an examination of how hip-hop-youth work activities are assembled. ANT categorises both people and non-human “things” as actors (Fenwick, 2010). Therefore, unlike conventional human service research where human agency is privileged, an ANT methodology traces the work of both human and non-human actors. This thesis thus focuses on tracing the

relations between heterogenous actors involved in the assemblage of hip-hop activities in sites of youth work practice.

As an ANT descriptive account, this thesis shows how an ANT sensibility opens up new possibilities for what is attended to and represented in research on youth work and youth culture. Taking on ANT's intention to attend to the "mess" of social reality (Law, 2004), including both the multiplicity and fluidity of realities enacted within particular sets of socio-material practices, enables an exploration of the complexity of assembling hip-hop activities. In this chapter, before introducing ANT, I situate this thesis' research orientation within the current literature and public debate on hip-hop and its use in work with young people. I also situate myself, as the sole researcher, by unpacking how my research interest in the diverse hip-hop assemblages used in youth work practice in New Zealand has evolved.

Hip-Hop Encounters

It is relatively common for ANT authors to include some reflection, dialogue or "snapshots" of their experiences or journey into and along the research process (Haxell, 2012; Law & Singleton, 2013; Mol, 2008). Mol (2002, 2008) who is an influential ANT researcher uses "snapshot-stories", that is, stories of her experiences of different sets of practices. Presenting multiple stories in this way allows the messy nature of the object of study to be illuminated, as tensions between experiences can be documented. In order to set the scene for the research account that follows, I follow Mol (2008) and provide a series of reflexive "snapshots" of some of my formative experiences with hip-hop. These give an indication of the events that shaped my interest in researching the workings of hip-hop-youth work realities. While these could be considered ethnographic observations, they do not come from my fieldnotes. As such, they constitute a detour; one provided in order to map how my awareness and intrigue at the interaction between people, words, gestures, sounds, and "things" to produce what is commonly referred to as "hip-hop" emerged. It is this interest that ultimately led to the adoption of ANT as a methodological framework for my research. As will become clear later in the chapter, ANT equips the researcher with a lens through which to examine socio-material

practices and the complexities inherent in the realities they produce. The following snapshots thus unravel the initial origins of the concerns that guided this study.

Hip-hop encountered as “good”.

It is the early 2000's. I have taken up Latin dancing. B-boys regularly come to the club in town that runs a weekly Latin dance night to jam to the Latin music. One boy is under age, but the owners let him in. These boys don't drink— they are there to dance. The space is large and open and we circle round and cheer while they jam on the wooden floor.

At the Latin club I meet a young woman who invites me to be a part of a hip-hop urban dance crew. She fuses hip-hop commercial urban dance, breaking, and Latin and Indian dance styles. I take up her invitation. We wear a crew uniform, consisting of caps with our logo, white baggy pants and black t-shirts and perform at multi-cultural city council events and Fijian Indian community events in Christchurch. At night we jam in town at hip-hop dance clubs. We don't drink. We encounter the b-boy crew here too. She battles them on the dance floor. We have fun.

I see hip-hop bringing people together. Girls battle it out with the guys. People from different cultures and socio-economic backgrounds socialise together and support each other. They are brought together through a love of dance. Here, hip-hop is not done with drugs, or as part of gang activity.

I first learnt hip-hop dance in a commercial dance studio as a child. I practiced this with friends at school in the playground, and in any spare classroom the teachers would let us use. I later learned dance at high school, learning from fellow students in the school gymnasium. My love of watching hip-hop dance performances took me into many institutions and types of building, such as churches. One time a flatmate invited me to a church service to watch the church dance crew perform hip-hop-urban dance. Another invitation and I go to another church across town to see the current New Zealand hip-hop dance champions perform. Hip-hop's inclusion and support within a variety of contexts in Christchurch sees me forgetting it is not always viewed as a positive activity.

Encountering hip-hop's stigma.

I get mixed reactions to my involvement in hip-hop dance. I am frequently met with responses that express surprise and disapproval. I quickly learn to call my hip-hop dance practices by other names such as “jazz ballet” or “Indian cultural fusion”.

Hip-hop encountered as good for working with youth.

It is the mid 2000's. I am a social work student on placement at a youth justice residence within the youth work team. It is my first day. Before meeting the youth, I receive lessons from staff members on how to do a street-style handshake.

The majority of young people here are invested in hip-hop. Their clothing, swagger, dance moves, language, music preferences, and constant tagging enact hip-hop. Communicating with young people using their language is important. This language appears to be contained within the different elements of hip-hop.

In the months that follow I observe hip-hop's use as a way to connect with the young people. Many staff members use hip-hop urban slang¹ when talking with the young people. My new handshake helps me blend into group practices within the residence, as greetings, celebrations, and goodbyes are marked through this handshake. A lot of the staff avail themselves of hip-hop fashions – shoes, clothing, hats, glasses, hairstyles, and so on. Young people and staff comment upon new ‘kicks’ worn by other staff or young people.

The school curriculum makes room for graffiti in art class, and hip-hop articles and documentaries are used to inspire interest in English classes. During the school holidays guest artists are brought in to teach hip-hop dance classes and graffiti art workshops.

¹ New Zealand hip-hop has not taken up all American hip-hop slang. But there is a street vernacular, much of which incorporates urban Maori or Pacific language. Common words in use at the time in the residence as well as my fieldwork included: ‘yo’, ‘bro’, ‘sick’, ‘mean as’, ‘chur’, ‘dat’, ‘wassup’, and ‘peace’.

They bring in their materials, such as spray cans, and CD's, but also use materials from the residence, such as the ghetto blaster and art-supplies.

I notice that hip-hop activities and music are used as rewards for good behaviour within the residence. Social workers give young people interested in graffiti art the materials to make a graffiti workbook as part of a behaviour management plan. Hip-hop music is used to create an environment that appeals to young people's interests. Hip-hop music is played in "down time".

As a newcomer I experience how my own enjoyment of hip-hop helps me connect with young people. It is on a visit to another residence that I experience first-hand how hip-hop dance can facilitate connections between me and young people. As I am grooving to the hip-hop music playing in the unit, a teenage girl comes over and asks to be taught how to move. She introduces me to other girls in the residence who are interested in dance and I am asked to comment on their choreography. The girls stay by my side the rest of the day.

Encountering hip-hop's stigma within the workplace.

I am on my next social work student placement. This time I am at a mental health respite service. I am struck by a nurse's fear of a certain young person. She tells me her evidence for being fearful is based on the fact he is listening to hip-hop music and is wearing hip-hop clothing. Here I am reminded that hip-hop is not always understood as good.

Hip-hop encountered as "bad".

I gain employment at the youth justice residence. I listen to young people justifying futures where they may face being locked up in prison for years. I hear them describe containment in a prison cell as a positive sign of being "gangsta". I question the good of playing a commercial hip-hop song within the residence that has the potential to reinforce this belief.

Not everyone is happy about the playing of hip-hop music. One young person who does not enjoy hip-hop music complains about its dominance. I hear girls expressing the discomfort they experience when the boys sing lyrics that put down women or remind these girls of experiences of sexual abuse. I also experience some of these songs differently when some young males sing along to hip-hop songs, project their voices and direct lyrics to me—I feel sexually objectified.

Within the residence I find some hip-hop songs take on new meanings and significance. I begin to question the harmlessness of the lyrics of some of the songs I had previously danced to because I enjoyed the hip-hop beats. I wonder if staff members censor the songs that are played in the residence.

Hip-hop encountered as multiple and malleable.

I wonder out loud about unchecked hip-hop exposure to a fellow co-worker who is a hip-hop fan. She discusses how these young people need to listen to a greater range of songs by their preferred gangsta rappers. By listening to Tupac, for instance, she argues, they would find that he did not advocate the gangsta lifestyle as an ideal way to live.

I start to pay attention to efforts to expose young people to pro-social forms of hip-hop culture within the residence. At times, staff and young people wish to enact hip-hop differently; tensions result. This is evident with graffiti practices. The young people involved in gangs engage in continuous tagging. This practice is destructive to the residential property, and is associated with expressing gang identities and division between young people. This form of graffiti clashes with the art teacher's version of graffiti practice. She wants her students to produce a graffiti piece. Attempts to separate gang-related tagging from graffiti art lessons during school time, or graffiti art making during free time, also poses a challenge for staff. Specific materials are introduced, such as paper, workbooks and canvases, and staff members supervise and veto attempts by young people to incorporate their gang tag motifs into their graffiti art. I become aware of the complexities and work involved in editing how young people enact hip-hop within a human service setting.

Reflexivity and the inception of the project.

As a student and worker, my encounters with these diverse webs of relations, within which hip-hop was enacted and understood, left me with many questions. These encounters captured my imagination, opened up research questions, and fuelled my interest in the production of hip-hop activities in youth work. My personal experience of hip-hop's stigma also had me intrigued as to how hip-hop practices within youth work found support with other workers and funders who may not hold hip-hop in high regard. My personal and professional observations of hip-hop as practiced in several different sites in Christchurch showed me that hip-hop could take many forms, and also enact different sets of goods and bads for different people.

Despite the prevalence within the media of hip-hop enactments that degrade women and celebrate violence and drug use, I had personally been exposed to other enactments. With this in mind, I concluded that enactments of hip-hop outside of gang networks, and outside the commercial images and lyrics of rap music, needed to be explored and revealed.

Based on this inspiration, my encounters with hip-hop as good influenced the focus of this research. I read many articles that constructed hip-hop as a means for positively engaging and intervening with youth (Alves Peres, Alves Peres, da Silveira, & Paiva, 2002; Elligan, 2004; Ginwright, 2002; Saw, Tamati, & Waiti, 2004; Tyson, 2002). I had a desire to produce an account of hip-hop that could broaden understandings of hip-hop and thus challenge simplistic negative hip-hop stereotypes. I hoped that documenting goods may overcome apprehensions on the part of practitioners, funders, and other stakeholders in youth work about supporting hip-hop initiatives in work with youth.

However, my encounters with hip-hop bads also provided me with a motivation to focus on the big picture. I actually wanted to study the complexities of the realities enacted in youth work practice, and explore how this "mess" is handled in practice. I wanted to learn more about how human service workers dealt with some of the tensions inherent in contemporary hip-hop. I also wished to document how they strove to avoid the re-

production of anti-social values and practices while maintaining the good of youth engagement.

Youth Work as a Site of Hip-Hop Practice

I developed a research interest in youth work practice through my encounters with youth work networks. Although I was trained as a social worker and had worked as a social worker within the youth justice residence, my first role there while on student placement was within the youth work team. In explaining the relationship-based nature of their work, some youth workers spoke of youth work within the community context being different to that within the residence. The youth work principle of working alongside the young person in a voluntary relationship (Ara Taiohi, 2011; Martin, 2002; Rodd & Stewart, 2009) provided a different site of engagement practice from that of working with involuntary young people in the residence. I was aware of a few hip-hop activities being run in the community, and knew that these were youth work-based. I thus set out to find out how youth engagement with hip-hop takes place.

Scarcity of literature.

There is a dearth of knowledge on hip-hop's assemblage within youth work worlds. This is not an uncommon feature of marginalised or non-mainstream cultures. As will be outlined below, the majority of accounts of incorporating hip-hop into work with youth come from education or therapeutic settings. In contrast, accounts of youth work and hip-hop are either brief summaries of hip-hop initiatives (Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006; Hicks Harper, 2008; & Leafloor, 2012; In Defense of Youth Work, 2011), or are interspersed amongst studies of youth music and arts activity within community-based organisations (Bloustien & Peters, 2011; de Roeper & Savelsberg, 2009; Rimmer, 2012) and research on after-school centres and youth development (Hirsh, Deutsch & DuBois, 2011). It is clear that an exploration of the ways in which young people engage with hip-hop-youth work initiatives has not taken place within the literature.

Despite the lack of research on how young people are engaged in hip-hop-youth work activities, some studies have highlighted the complexities of incorporating hip-hop within government-funded projects (Baker & Homan, 2007; Huq, 2007; Pardue, 2004). The increase in studies examining government support for youth music activities in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, France, and Australia has led to hip-hop-youth work initiatives being included in studies of youth arts education initiatives (Bloustein & Peters, 2011; Baker & Homan, 2007; Baker, Bennett, & Homan, 2009; Huq, 2007). Similarly, Pardue (2004, 2007) documents how the state has supported hip-hop education initiatives in Brazil as a way to foster active youth citizenship.

This literature on hip-hop's incorporation within a range of youth work contexts documents hip-hop's diverse uses. Much of this literature focuses in particular on its political possibilities as an underground art form. One example of this is its use as a form of resistance for marginalised young people (Clay, 2006; Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006; Huq, 2007; Pardue, 2004, 2007). Studies of hip-hop activities within youth work contexts have not explored engagement practices in any depth. Nevertheless, previous research into hip-hop provides a foundation for considering how hip-hop activities are produced within youth work practice in the New Zealand context. This thesis addresses a gap in knowledge regarding the assemblage and workings of hip-hop-youth work engagement activities.

Setting the Scene: Youth Work in Christchurch

Chapter two will discuss in more detail the webs of relations that established the youth work identity of the workers in this study. For now, it is helpful to negotiate meaning by offering a definition of youth work recently assembled and circulated by the National Youth Workers Network Aotearoa (NYWNA). NYWNA define youth work as the development of a relationship between a youth worker and a young person (Ara Taiohi, 2011, p. 16):

- *through* connecting with young people;

- *where* young people are empowered, including the choice to engage for as long as agreed; and
- *that* supports their holistic, positive development as rangatahi that contribute to themselves, their whanau, community, and world.

Youth work in New Zealand is not enacted within a professional registration context. Attempts to establish a professional identity for youth workers, and hence more recognition for youth work in New Zealand, are on-going (Ara Taiohi, 2011). Over time, qualifications and youth work collectives have been created, and a central organisation has evolved to co-ordinate youth work efforts across the country.²

Youth work sits amongst a broader set of practices and professions working in what is called the “youth sector” in New Zealand. At times people assume that when youth work is referred to researchers are interested in any work with young people (Martin, 2006). Youth work in this study, however, refers only to those practitioners who both identified themselves, and were identified by others in their networks, as a youth worker or as carrying out youth work through their activities. Consequently, I have not described other people who work with young people such as teachers, youth leaders, coaches, youth organisation administrators, council community liaison staff, counsellors, and social and health workers as having a youth work role and identity. Of course, such simplistic exclusion is not always possible as workers may hold multiple identities within youth work worlds. For instance, some practicing youth workers also hold positions of youth leader, youth pastor, or youth trust manager.

While it is not operating within a professional registration framework, youth work in New Zealand is embedded within a policy framework that supports a Positive Youth Development (PYD) approach (Ara Taiohi, 2011). PYD forms the basis of the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA). This policy document, published in 2002 by the Ministry of Youth Affairs (now Ministry of Youth Development), was assembled to guide the work of government agencies and others who work with young people. These

² At the time of writing Ara Taiohi has become the new national organisation leading youth work in Aotearoa.

principles also formed the basis for the *Code of Ethics for Youth Work in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2008, 2011). The six key principles of youth development set out in the strategy are:

1. Youth development is shaped by the 'big picture'
2. Youth development is about young people being connected
3. Youth development is based on a consistent strengths-based approach
4. Youth development is triggered when young people fully participate
5. Youth development happens through quality relationships
6. Youth development needs good information (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

In the current study, these youth development principles were seen to both inform and translate hip-hop-youth work initiatives into activities that fulfilled the best practice goals of youth workers and youth trust management. They were also a means by which to communicate the value of hip-hop activities to funders.

A study of the contexts and forms of youth work.

This study describes a variety of forms of youth work, but is not inclusive of all the types of youth work being performed in New Zealand. Firstly, this study focuses on youth work practices within Non-Government Organisations. As such, it does not follow youth workers employed by government agencies. Secondly, by focusing on hip-hop initiatives, this study documents the work of youth workers involved in providing recreation-based activities and spaces.

In carrying out this research, I encountered a range of activities that Martin (2006)³ has identified as common within New Zealand youth work. These included education and employment, after school activities, advocacy, mentoring, and co-ordinating community sporting, recreation and cultural events. Although I focus on group activities, this research also focuses on the one on one work that complimented these activities. Practices that did not coincide with hip-hop, such as youth behavior monitoring,

³ Martin's (2006) data is derived from a comprehensive survey and youth worker focus groups.

supervision of community work, and statutory case work (Martin, 2006), were excluded from this study. This study has documented youth work based on voluntary relationships.

Youth work activities within the community take place at a variety of sites. This study is a multi-sited ethnography, tracing the activities of youth trusts that have incorporated hip-hop into their work. Several of the youth trusts were faith based and connected to a church. Their youth workers worked both within their church and local schools through the collaborative efforts of 24-7 YouthWork.⁴ The secular youth trusts in this study ran youth organisations. Both the faith based and non-faith based youth trusts in this study provided youth with venues and resources for recreational activities.

Hip-Hop Controversies

Having set the scene for the site of youth work practice for this study, I now provide an overview of common controversies in the literature and public debate related to aspects of hip-hop. The literature surrounding hip-hop is integrated throughout the thesis. While much literature and public debate about hip-hop comes out of the United States and concerns American hip-hop practices, I also examine New Zealand literature and media accounts. This will provide insights into the controversies around hip-hop practices directly relevant to the societal context that they took place in.

Hip-hop culture.

Hip-hop culture is widely known as a form of youth culture, involving everything from speech, clothing, to body language. It is commonly defined as consisting of the “four elements”: DJing; MCing, b-boying/b-girling; and graffiti (Chang, 2005; Price, 2006; Rose, 1994). Today, hip-hop culture is consumed and produced globally. Researchers, drawing on studies of hip-hop in specific localities around the world, have found

⁴ 24-7 YouthWork establishes relationships between churches and schools. See <http://24-7youthwork.org.nz/>.

variations in hip-hop culture, including its uses and meanings, and argue that hip-hop is best understood as localised or glocalised (see for example, Bennett, 1999; Condry, 2001; Henderson, 1999; Mitchell, 2001a, 2003; Zemke-White, 2005). Hip-hop is often lauded as a source of individual and community empowerment (Travis, 2013). However, like many other youth music based cultures (Cohen, 2002; Thornton, 1995),⁵ hip-hop has been framed by some academics, politicians and the media as being harmful to both individuals and communities (Baker & Homan, 2007; Redhead, 1995; Zemke-White, 2000). These associations make hip-hop a controversial medium for working with youth (Baker & Homan, 2007).

Violence and misogyny controversies.

Public and academic debate around hip-hop often focuses on how rap music and videos incorporates and promotes anti-social behaviour, and whether this in turn influences young people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. Specifically, hip-hop is criticised for glorifying violence, crime, and drug use, and/or using materialistic, homophobic or misogynistic lyrics or images (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1996; Gore, 2003; Kim, 2003; Williams, 2003). The gangsta genre of hip-hop music includes a lot of material based on these themes and is therefore the target of most criticism. There is a range of literature that provides a content analysis of rap lyrics and music videos, and considers the influence of the conduct of rap artists outside of their musical performances (Diamond, Bermudez, & Schensul, 2006; Emerson, 2002; Knobloch-Westerwick, Musto, & Shaw, 2008; Kubrin, 2005a, 2005b). Some studies based on statistical analysis of questionnaire data have made associations between hip-hop and anti-social attitudes, aggressive behaviours, and problematic drug and/or alcohol use (Rubin, West, & Mitchell, 2001; Selfhout, Delsing, Bogt, & Meeus, 2008; Chen, Miller, Grube, Waiters, 2006; Wingood et al., 2003). These associations contribute to concerns around hip-hop's impact on youth development. Other studies challenge these findings by emphasising the ambiguous and contingent nature of the impact of hip-hop consumption, with attention being paid to the diversity that exists within both hip-hop and its audiences,

⁵ While I acknowledge the work of Cohen on the topic of moral panic, it would be tangential to the thesis to attempt to cover this topic in detail herein.

and the interpretive tools the latter bring to their consumption of hip-hop (Mahiri & Conner, 2003; Riley, 2005; Rodriguez, 2006).

Hip-hop music and videos are in particular frequently criticised for their misogynistic content (Adams & Fuller, 2006; Wietzer & Kubrin, 2009). The narrow sexual scripts they provide have been found to contribute to African American pre-adolescents conceptualizations of their own sexuality and interpersonal relationship decision-making processes (Stephens & Few, 2007a; 2007b). Concerns extend to the impact music videos may have on African American female adolescents' sexual health and body image (Sharpely-Whiting, 2007; West, 2009; Wingood et al., 2003; Zhang, Dixon, & Conrad, 2010). Studies do, however, highlight how some of these girls resist scripts contained in hip-hop music imagery (Stokes, 2007; West, 2009). Despite presenting evidence that many of these young women are not passive consumers of hip-hop media, the critiques offered by young African American women are still seen as incomplete by education researchers who identify a need for these young people to receive assistance in developing their critical media literacy (Love, 2012; Stokes, 2007; West, 2009).

Problematizing ethnicity.

The controversy surrounding hip-hop also stems from concerns around its detrimental impact on the development of communities. In the United States, hip-hop is most often problematized and aligned with African American youth and communities. The ethnic make-up of hip-hop's audience is diverse (Bennett, 1999; Henderson, 2010; Riley, 2005); however, hip-hop is made controversial through arguments that include reference to its associations with black youth (hooks, 1994 ; Quinn, 2005; Rose, 1994; 2008; Watkins, 2005). For example, the Australian mainstream public's general fear has been attributed to associating hip-hop with gang life, as well as black minority cultures (Mitchell, 2003). Similarly, Binder (1993) reports that the notion that hip-hop leads black youth to do things detrimental to society was a common theme in an analysis of American media articles. This was in contrast to criticisms of heavy metal, which Binder found centred on concern that the music may damage the individual young person rather than hurt the wider community.

Noting this prevalent problematisation of black youth culture, some academics and hip-hop commentators suggest that hip-hop is being made a scapegoat for the shortcomings of predominantly white institutions (Kelly, 2003; Love, 2012; Mahiri and Conner, 2003, Rose, 1994; 2008). At the same time, some academics who belong to the hip-hop community denounce gangsta music, arguing that it perpetuates negative racial stereotypes (Asante, 2008; McWhortner, 2003; Rose, 2008). Some of these academics critique the recording industry for distributing hip-hop music that mythologises ghetto realities and stigmatises black communities (Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008). They and other hip-hop commentators call for socially-conscious hip-hop music to be given equal commercial airplay, and for hip-hop community development initiatives to be supported (Asante, 2008; Shomari, 1995; Rose, 2008).

Gang life and antisocial activities.

Hip-hop's association with gang life and the street sees hip-hop as a highly stigmatised culture (Mitchell, 2003; Price, 2006). While hip-hop began partly as an alternative to gang violence (Chang, 2005; Lipsitz, 1994; Price, 2006), many of hip-hop's practices, such as language, clothing and crews derived from a street culture that included that of the local youth gangs (Chang, 2005; Price, 2006). This has seen some b-boy crews' activities in public space unfairly persecuted (Banes, 1985; Rose, 1994). Furthermore, graffiti writing, often not distinguished from tagging as part of gang territorial activity, is often denigrated in the public domain (Barboza, 1993; Halsey & Young 2002; Rowe & Hutton, 2012; White, 2001). Others distinguish different types of graffiti, to argue that stereotypes linking graffiti to other forms of vandalism, or crime related to gang activity are often unfounded (Docuyanana, 2000; Halsey & Young, 2002).

Local controversies.

The abovementioned “matters of concern”⁶ are relevant to the New Zealand context. While the media has celebrated New Zealand hip-hop artists’ achievements in the international arena, it has also circulated stories that frame hip-hop as being associated with petty and violent crime, as well as gang activity (Koptyko, 1986; Turner & Jackson, 2011). Such concerns are expressed by a variety of people in the community, including hip-hop artists, youth workers, community members and politicians (Bishop, 2008; Koptyko, 1986; Saw, Tamati, & Waiti, 2004; Stokes, 2005; Zemke-White, 2000). Concerns have been circulated in the New Zealand media and literature about the impact of gangsta rap music on young people and the community (Bishop, 2008; Eggleston, 2000; “Rapper Young Sid”, 2008; Saw, Tamati, & Waiti, 2004; Stokes, 2005). Similarly, graffiti has become a matter of concern in New Zealand, reflected in the growing number of interventions initiated across the country in recent years by members of the public, voluntary groups, police, the courts, local councils, and parliament (Graham, 2014; Ministry of Youth Development, 2009b).

Young people’s consumption of American gangsta rap music has been the focus of much concern in New Zealand; concern has in particular been expressed about Maori and Pacific youth taking up and imitating American gangsta culture in place of their own Maori or Pacific culture (Eggleston, 2000; Zemke-White, 2000). More recently, with the production of New Zealand rap music drawing on dominant tropes of the gangsta genre, concerns around local gangs and gang members producing hip-hop music promoting gang life have developed and been circulated within the news media (“Rapper Young Sid”, 2008; Stokes, 2005).

The stigma of hip-hop as a generic term is also still felt in New Zealand. Whimp (2008) describes how the allocation of funds to a particular research project, designed to inform future hip-hop initiatives with youth, became the subject of political and media attention

⁶ Latour (2004; 2005) uses the term “matters of concern” to capture the shifting and disputable nature of realities, as opposed to matters of fact which present realities as fixed and indisputable.

in 2004. Opposition party politicians together with the New Zealand media were able to build much public resentment to the spending of tax-payers' money on activities related to hip-hop. Whimp argues the ease with which this controversy was fuelled was due partly to the stigma surrounding hip-hop. In this particular situation, no reports unpacked what the hip-hop activities that were to take place actually were. Mention of hip-hop alone served as evidence for the general public to assume that there was a careless use of public funds.

Hip-hop is thus clearly not without controversy in New Zealand. It also seemed possible that memory of the media and community reaction to hip-hop initiatives in 2004 could impact upon youth trusts' decisions to apply for funds for hip-hop initiatives in this country. I was curious to explore how resources needed to run hip-hop activities were acquired within a context where hip-hop is considered to be a controversial medium for working with youth, and where its public support is not guaranteed.

Hip-Hop as a Medium for Engaging with Youth

Many accounts within the literature frame hip-hop as a means to engage youth in education, health promotion, therapeutic, as well as community and youth development activities, despite the abovementioned controversy. The majority of these accounts come from those who have incorporated hip-hop into their work with urban youth in the United States. They frame hip-hop as an important tool for enacting culturally sensitive and strengths-based practice with young people invested in hip-hop.

For example, hip-hop education initiatives have taken place in traditional and alternative educational settings, and have reportedly fostered youth interest and participation in a range of learning activities (Alves-Peres et al., 2002; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002; Pardue, 2004; Turner-Musa et al., 2008). Where it has formed the foundation of youth community development initiatives, hip-hop has also been used to explore with youth how personal issues are linked to wider social issues (Flores-Gonzales et al., 2006; Hicks Harper, 2008; Neate, 2003; Saw, Tamati, & Waiti, 2004). Youth have been engaged in consciousness-raising and social change activity through

youth work, and community leaders have used hip-hop to form youth-led strategies and youth-adult partnerships (Clay, 2006; Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006; Hicks Harper, 2008).

Rap music, which encompasses the elements of DJing and MCing, has received the most attention as a tool for engaging youth. In addition to its inclusion in education projects, rap music has been introduced as a therapeutic tool and has been incorporated into social work and psychology based clinical practice. In Rap Therapy, also referred to as Hip-Hop Therapy, individual and group therapy with at risk youth is centred on the lyrical content of rap music (Alvarez, 2012; Elligan, 2004; Tyson, 2002; DeCarlo & Hockman, 2004).

Proponents of Rap Therapy see hip-hop culture as a tool to cross cultural and generational barriers, to engage with youth, and to help youth explore important issues in their lives (Alvarez, 2012; Elligan, 2004; Kobin & Tyson, 2006; Tillie-Allen, 2005; Tyson, 2002). Like education and youth community development workers, these practitioners report improvements in engaging youth participation in programme activities (Elligan, 2004; DeCarlo & Hockman, 2004; Tillie-Allen, 2005; Tyson, 2003, 2003). Hip-hop has thus proven itself to be a culture that can be assembled in a variety of youth service contexts to engage young people invested in hip-hop.

Overcoming Controversy

Despite this emphasis on youth engagement with hip-hop, few studies have focused on how these activities are assembled so to both engage young people and enlist the support of other stakeholders. This is of interest given that controversies surrounding hip-hop are likely to create many barriers and obstacles to its utilisation in youth work. The controversy surrounding hip-hop raises the question of how recognition from people outside of hip-hop worlds can be gained and translated into support for hip-hop-youth work activities.

Internationally, educators and practitioners have noted that work is often required to overcome concerns on the part of practitioners, educators, and parents in order to incorporate hip-hop into their practice (Elligan, 2012; Mahiri, 1996; Tillie-Allen, 2005). Elligan (2012) suggests that this reluctance is due to people associating hip-hop with gangsta rap, not understanding the broader set of practices and musical messages and content that makes up hip-hop. Tillie-Allen (2005) gives advice for those interested in using Hip-Hop Therapy on how to convince “parents, educators, and even other clinical practitioners” (p. 35) that the inclusion of hip-hop in therapy will have beneficial effects. For instance, she advises practitioners to explain to these stakeholders that negative messages in hip-hop can be effectively challenged by examining the music with young people in a therapeutic environment. In critical education, Mahiri (1996) describes how he consulted other teachers and students regarding what rap music to use, and informed any administrators of the decisions. While these accounts of hip-hop’s use in work with youth mention efforts to reassure various stakeholders, these negotiations are not explored in any depth.

Some insight into the work required to enrol government agencies in supporting the inclusion of hip-hop in youth work comes from outside of practitioners’ accounts. Pardue (2004), as part of his ethnographic study on hip-hop in Brazil, documents some of the negotiation work required to gain government resources and permission to run workshops in a youth correctional facility. He looks at discourses created by hip-hop community members that aligned government policy interests with hip-hop activity. In exploring how hip-hop is assembled in youth work sites of practice, the current study builds on this work by tracing some of the negotiation work that youth trusts engaged in to gain resources and support for hip-hop initiatives. This thesis asks how this shapes how hip-hop is enacted within different youth work sites of practice.

Not all hip-hop is seen as bad for young people. As mentioned above, there is evidence that hip-hop activities and artifacts are not always judged in the same way. For instance, youth workers, Pacific and Maori community leaders, as well as hip-hop music artists in New Zealand, have all voiced concern that young people listen to American gangsta rap more than local hip-hop music (Zemke-White, 2000). Distinctions are drawn between the impacts of gangsta rap, which is seen as encouraging anti-social activities and values,

and Aotearoa/New Zealand hip-hop. Such distinctions allude to issues regarding cultural identity for Maori and Pacific youth, deeming exposure to these cultural identities as being beneficial (Zemke-White, 2000). In the debates in America, there have been similar calls to strengthen configurations of hip-hop being practiced outside of those commercial varieties based on the “gangsta-pimp-ho trinity” circulated in the mainstream media (Rose, 2008, p. 5; Shomari, 1995). As part of looking at how hip-hop is assembled in youth work activities, this thesis follows what forms of hip-hop were supported and which had to be edited out of sites of youth work practice.

The selection of music is a topic given significant attention in the hip-hop therapy and education literature. Examples of hip-hop songs used in practice, often thematically coded, are provided by those who have used hip-hop in their work with youth to guide practitioners and teachers on how to explore particular issues with their clients or students (Elligan, 2004; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2010; Travis & Depaak, 2011; Tyson, Detchkov, Eastwood, Carver, & Sehr, 2012; Veltre & Hadley, 2012). Although censorship within therapeutic contexts is not advocated (Hara, 2012; Tillie-Allen, 2005; Veltre & Hadley, 2012), strategies to expose clients to songs with particular messages are often put in place (Elligan, 2004; Kobin & Tyson, 2006; Travis & Deepak, 2011; Tyson, 2003, 2012).

In contrast, there is little material on how hip-hop bads are understood and handled within youth work activities. However, studies of youth hip-hop arts programmes run within youth detention residences (Baker & Homan, 2007; Pardue, 2004) highlight tensions that those running hip-hop-youth work activities in the community context could also encounter. For instance, Pardue (2004) shows how new forms of hip-hop are produced in a youth programme setting. His study of hip-hop workshops in a Brazilian youth prison setting examines the problem of producing hip-hop art-forms that express themes of social criticism within a state funded alternative education programme. From his observations of workshop activities, including spaces and materials used, along with conversations with workshop leaders, and with the young people themselves, Pardue concludes that the space and political conditions in which the programme took place restricted the form that hip-hop expression could take.

Specifically, Pardue (2004) notes how young people and workshop leaders were restricted in how and what they expressed in a hip-hop medium in the prison setting. For instance, he notes how the rap artists encouraged young people away from discussing “racism and police violence” (p. 425), while a graffiti workshop restricted the young people’s usual form of hip-hop expression through the use of wooden planks or white bed sheets. Encountering similar forms of censorship in their study of a hip-hop music production programme in a youth detention centre, Baker and Homan (2007) note that in contrast, some community based organisations in Australia and the United Kingdom allowed their youth full freedom of expression in their rap lyrics. The relevance of contextual factors influencing the performance of hip-hop in youth development practice highlights the value of exploring the relationship between different environmental conditions and the different assemblages of hip-hop culture created in youth work-hip-hop activities.

Introduction to ANT

The questions that define the focus of this study, and the methods used to find their answers, are shaped not only by my own personal interests, and gaps in the academic literature, but also by actor-network theory (ANT). Originating in Science and Technology Studies, ANT has now been drawn upon by researchers in a variety of social science disciplines. ANT attunes the researcher to asking new questions, and approaching research, analysis and writing in new ways (Mol, 2013).

ANT considers all phenomena to be “enactments that are effects continually produced in webs of relations” (Fenwick and Edwards, 2010, p. x). The webs of relations, also variously referred to as “assemblages” or “networks” (Fenwick, 2010; Law & Singleton, 2013), contain not only people (such as young people and youth workers), but also non-human elements (such as spray cans, stereos, venues). ANT-inspired research thus attempts to explain how a given entity is (re)produced by examining how people, things and knowledge spread, circulate and connect to form networks.

The social researcher can be thought of as a detective, tracing the creation and dissolution of connections between heterogeneous actors (Farnsworth & Austrin, 2005). In doing so, the ANT researcher explores how social phenomena are held together (Fenwick, 2010). ANT thus offers a new approach to studying both hip-hop and youth work. Drawing on ANT, this thesis examines how different youth work-hip-hop activities are assembled and enacted, the focus being on revealing the workings of these assemblages.

Tracing socio-material assemblages.

By incorporating a focus on non-human entities, this thesis offers a fresh account of hip-hop and youth work. Employing an ANT framework means humans and non-humans are able to be described in the same terms, given the same analytical currency, and are afforded equal agency (Callon, 1986b). Within ANT, an actor is considered to be any entity that makes a difference to a given state of affairs (Latour, 2005). ANT's main proponent, Bruno Latour (2005), encourages researchers to consider the varied work that non-humans do, namely that "things might authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on" (p. 72). Latour continues:

ANT is not the empty claim that objects do things 'instead' of human actors: it simply says that no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans (2005, p. 72).

Consequently, humans and the social realm are not privileged as explanatory elements. Rather, the extent and nature of a human or non-human actor's influence must be empirically investigated (Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014; Latour, 1993). This thesis explores how non-humans act and contribute to shaping hip-hop-youth work realities.

This does not mean, on the other hand, that non-humans are privileged over that of human elements. This is because ANT does not treat the social and material stuff of the

world as discrete and separate from one another; instead they are considered for the work they do together (Fenwick, 2010). For instance, Law (2003) describes how a manager is a network, consisting of many material and human entities such as a personal computer, telephone and secretary. Here managerial power is the effect of a performance that is distributed across a network of entities of which the manager is a part. A manager, understood only as the human entity without a connection to these objects, is unable to exercise managerial power or perform this role effectively. A central element of an ANT sensibility is recognising “the social” as mediated by non-humans (Latour, 1991, 2005; Law, 1994, 2003). Consequently, examining the social involves tracing socio-material assemblages (Latour, 2005). Tracing associations and disassociations between actors is an important part of studies informed by ANT, as an actor’s capacities are understood to emerge in relationship with other actors (Law & Singleton, 2013). Furthermore, each assemblage is understood to produce different effects (Kerr, 2014; Latour, 2005).

The central place of technologies in the origins and continued performance and consumption of hip-hop culture highlights the appropriateness of an ANT methodology that accounts for the non-humans who work alongside human actors to produce hip-hop and youth work activities. In descriptive accounts of hip-hop’s fluidity across time and space, researchers have referred to both technical and social elements as playing important roles in shaping both the global spread and the diverse local uses of hip-hop culture (Jenkins, 2011; Lipsitz, 1994; Osumare, 2001).

Historical accounts document how hip-hop music arose from urban youth interacting with sampling machines and turntables, reassembling previous music into new formats (Chang, 2005; Hebdige, 1987). Microphones, speakers and mixed tapes are just some of the technologies that were involved in the creation of hip-hop performance and consumption, as were spaces such as parks, and apartments (Chang, 2005). Historical and journalistic accounts of the early creation of graffiti and break dancing mention the roles of “things” such as trains, spray cans, kung-fu movies, ghetto blasters, linoleum, and sport clothing (Chang, 2005; George, Banes, Flinker, & Romanowski, 1985; Rose, 1994).

Ethnographic work has also recognised the importance of things. Tapes, movies, music videos, and magazines, and more recently, i-pods, and the internet, are cited as playing an important part in the globalisation of hip-hop culture (Gibson, 2003; Henderson, 1999; Stevens, 2006). Despite privileging human agency, these accounts acknowledge the role technology plays in assembling new social arrangements, as new communities and “cultures of interaction” emerge alongside them (Farnsworth & Austrin, 2005). Such studies hint at the work non-humans do, something that is developed further by this study which grants these actors social agency.⁷ As noted above, ANT sees agency as a product of a heterogeneous network, where the configuration and size of the network determines what is produced (Kerr, 2014; Latour, 2005). When action is understood as distributed, non-humans, like their human counterparts, are not assumed to “possess” agency in and of themselves (Baiocchi Graizbord & Rodríguez-Muñoz, 2013; Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014, p. 66).

Some hip-hop researchers have highlighted the importance of community organisations providing material resources so to support young people’s hip-hop activities. For instance, Flores-Gonzalez et al. (2006) argue there is value in youth defining their own hip-hop practices and being given the resources to do so. Dimitriadis’ (2001) makes reference to the enabling and constraining impact of resources and spaces provided for young people. Although both Dimitriadis and Flores-Gonzalez et al. recognise activities, resources, and the amount of agency available to youth within a community youth centre context being inextricably linked to human and non-human actors made available to them, they do not explore the role of particular actors in youth engagement. This thesis builds on these insights, and by taking ANT’s socio-material approach, examines what resources are made available and allowed within the youth work context to engage young people in hip-hop activities.

⁷ Agency in this regard does not equate to non-humans having intentionality. Likewise humans are not attributed mechanism (Callon & Latour, 1992). As noted above, agency is understood as shared between human and non-human actors who each participate in assemblages (Latour, 2005). Agency within ANT is attributed to non-humans so to embrace the principle of symmetry (Callon, 1986). Using the same vocabulary for humans and non-humans is an essential part of this move to create a metalanguage designed to overcome dualistic analysis that supports technological or social determinism (Callon & Latour, 1992).

By embracing ANT's symmetrical treatment of human and non-human elements, the account of hip-hop that follows differs from previous approaches in the hip-hop literature where human agency is given precedence. For instance, ethnographic accounts of hip-hop place technologies and artifacts within theoretical frameworks that privilege the agency of social actors in defining the use and meaning of a given object (Condry, 2007; Dimitriadis, 2001; Love, 2009; Woodruff, 2009). This has been the case in youth sub-culture research (Hebdige, 1979; Willis, 1998). In contrast, within an ANT framework, materials are not seen merely for their symbolic value (Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014; Sorenson, 2009).

Care has also been taken not to look at appropriation in terms of hip-hop as a tool or instrument to achieve a particular goal. This way of examining hip-hop is dominant in the youth development and education literature. It renders hip-hop artifacts as mere conduits and representatives of human aims (Waltz, 2006). Instead, by taking an ANT approach, the focus is on how these materials contribute to the development of social practice, meaning making and experience (Denora, 2000; Gomart & Hennion, 1999; Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014; Latour, 2005; Sorenson, 2009; Strandvard, 2011). Rather than assuming that an actor acts as an "intermediary" - simply carrying or transmitting another actor's meanings or force, ANT researchers explore how an actor (human or non-human) acts as a "mediator" (Latour, 2005). A mediator alters the elements that it conducts (Latour, 1999b, 2005). Understanding a network as a "string of actions where each participant is treated as a full-blown mediator" (Latour, 2005, p. 128), enables the documentation of unpredicted outcomes and effects that emerge when actors come together (Sorenson, 2009). By tracing how both predicted and unpredicted effects impact youth work-hip-hop practice, this account provides insights into how youth work-hip-hop practice evolves. The complex ways in which non-humans interact with humans in the fabrication of hip-hop-youth work events is thereby revealed.

Taking any given entity to be a product of a heterogeneous network (Law, 1992), ANT researchers avoid imposing theoretical frameworks onto the data they collect. They argue against the traditional sociological method of beginning with a framework or theory before commencing fieldwork (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1991, 2005; Strandvard, 2011). For Latour (2005), this is considered to be taking an analytical short cut, and

thereby failing to adequately trace the associations made between actors. Moreover, ANT avoids reductionist accounts of power and social structures such as ethnicity, class and gender, and looks for the unexpected forms of power and how these work (see Law & Singleton, 2013, p. 496). Together with the assumption that the researcher does not hold expert knowledge and understandings unobtainable to the participants themselves (Latour, 1999a), ANT-type analysis does not rely on social frames or structures only known to the analyst (Latour, 2005).

The ANT approach that I have taken in this thesis thereby marks a significant shift away from youth culture research that focuses on the influence of structural shaping factors, such as class or socio-economic position, gender, ethnicity, place and capitalism on youth cultures (Hodkinson, 2007). By foregrounding the webs of relations in which hip-hop is locally produced, this study still accounts for the effects of hip-hop-youth work enactments, including issues of concern such as power, agency, and gender. However, by not relying on these structures to guide analysis, other lines of inquiry may be opened.

As Law and Singleton (2013) explain, an ANT sensibility can still reveal these conventional types of power relationships, but ANT is also interested in “ethnographic surprises” (p. 500) and thus tries to illuminate other forms of power that may be at play. Unlike other studies of hip-hop, this thesis does not focus on the production, consumption and impact of hip-hop on young people that fit certain social categories.⁸ This ANT-inspired analysis of hip-hop culture thus contributes to recent youth culture research efforts to study “unspectacular youth” alongside those considered more deviant or “at risk” (Hodkinson, 2007, p. 13).

Treating materially heterogeneous actors equally opens up possibilities to represent the activities of some actors normally erased from accounts of youth work or hip-hop (Law, 1994; Kendal & Wickham, 2001). Giving non-humans equal consideration is important in order to explore how hip-hop-youth work activities are assembled. Understanding their contribution thus has consequences for informing understandings of how “things can be otherwise” (Bijker & Law, 1992; Haxell, 2012). Through following the dual

⁸ ANT does not study consumption or production as separate activities, as each contribute to the enactment of a given entity together (Kendal & Wickham, 2001).

enactment of hip-hop and youth work across different sites in Christchurch, an understanding of how hip-hop is done is gained through identifying the practices and actors involved (Mol, 2002). This ANT preference for mapping a given entity has several advantages over other approaches. Firstly, various studies of hip-hop contain representations that favour particular perspectives, whether it is by privileging the voices of young people, or privileging the lens of professionals' theoretical categories. These texts therefore make the contribution of some actors more or less central in our understanding of hip-hop.

Secondly, following connections formed between actors allows this research to document the assemblages of actors, knowledge and practices that have been overlooked in previous accounts of hip-hop culture and youth work. By opening various "black boxes" (Latour, 1987), and attending to how realities are enacted in practices, a different focus of study of hip-hop and youth work realities is embraced. Farnsworth and Austrin (2010) explain how ANT offers a different form of ethnography, in that it is interested in studying the assemblage of what commonly constitutes the site of other research efforts. The work of heterogeneous actors involved in producing hip-hop youth work realities that are marginalised in other accounts can be explored in more depth through the use of an ANT framework. Although ethnography has become a common method for exploring the impacts of hip-hop culture on youth, the few studies that have taken place in youth work sites have looked at youth consumption, identity and overall meaning making with hip-hop media (see Dimitriadis, 2001; Love, 2012; Woodruff, 2009). This means that these studies have not considered the production of hip-hop activities within youth work settings. This thesis addresses these gaps in knowledge by exploring how hip-hop- youth work activities are assembled.

Hip-hop and Youth Work Realities as Mutable and Multiple.

An ANT sensibility is attentive to the emergent and provisional nature of any phenomena. ANT provides the means to explore how hip-hop and youth work realities develop and evolve, through examining how they are strengthened, and weakened

through various associations and dissociations of actors (Latour, 2005; Law & Singleton, 2013).

By using an ANT framework, I have also opened up possibilities for this research to follow controversies. Realities can be seen as unfolding, uncertain, and often in tension (Latour, 2005; Law & Singleton, 2013). The documentation of tensions and controversies can be revealing: how stability, or closure to a controversy is achieved is considered to be a valuable way to study the social (Latour, 1987, 2005; Venturini, 2010). It is here that the constituent actors that strengthen a given reality become visible. This is reliant on tracing the process of translation (Latour, 2005). The controversy that surrounds hip-hop, makes it an ideal candidate for an ANT study. The translation model is used in this thesis to trace how hip-hop controversies were settled in youth work sites of practice: and this is achieved by following how actors were enlisted into a hip-hop-youth work network.

This thesis draws on the core ANT concept of translation to trace the formation and transformation of the heterogeneous networks through which hip-hop and youth work were enacted. It looks at how hip-hop-youth work networks become durable and extend themselves through enrolling human and non-human allies. The analytical framework of translation allows the exploration of how obduracy is acquired, albeit momentarily (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987, 1988; Law, 1992, 1994). Here ANT exposes the work of heterogeneous actors in sustaining and extending network linkages.

The sociology of translation explores how actors become interrelated by tracing how connections are formed between them and how these are maintained or become less durable over time. Translation is the term used to describe the process of forming a network (Callon, 1986b). For a network to be assembled each actor must enrol others, “that is, finds way to convince the others to support its own aims” (Spinuzzi, 2008, p. 39). These methods of translation involve multiple negotiations and result in displacements and transformations of the actors involved (Callon, 1986a; Callon, Law and Rip, 1986; Latour, 1991). Therefore translation, as a part of an ANT framework, offers a way to study how change takes place (Haxell, 2012). The translation framework thus enables change within hip-hop-youth work activities to be traced and understood.

Callon (1986b), in his exemplary ANT study of translation, identifies three phases through which the enrolment of actors occurs. In the first stage, “problematization”, an actor identifies a problem and suggests its solution. In doing so, it frames the issue and identifies the relevant actors and the nature of their interrelationship in a way that makes this primary actor indispensable. This point through which other actors must pass is referred to as the obligatory passage point (OPP). “Interessement” refers to the phase where the focal actor engages in methods to convince these actors of the relevance of the issue to them, encouraging them to take up the roles identified for them in problematization. “Enrolment” occurs where interessement efforts are met with success and these actors join the network. Translation also occurs during “mobilization”, where these enrolled actors support being displaced and reassembled into new configurations where a “spokesman” represents them. However, even if enrolment is successful, future betrayals may occur. The associations between actors are precarious and networks can become unstable. By following these negotiations, and the shifts that occurred as associations became unstable, this thesis explores the mutable nature of hip-hop-youth work assemblages.

Other concepts related to tracing the translation operation that this thesis draws on are “programme of action” and “anti-programme”. These constructs are used by Latour (1991, 1999b) to trace how an actor is enlisted into an assemblage—the “programme of action”, instead of doing another course of action—the “anti-programme”. Latour shows how anti-programmes have to be countered by anti-anti-programmes. He describes how the enrolment of an actor is paid for by enrolling other actors. This is illustrated by the example of a hotel manager resolving the problem of losing hotel keys, by getting customers to return the hotel key to the front desk (Latour, 1991). Trials of different assemblages or anti-anti-programmes take place. The customers are first asked verbally to leave the keys at reception. This sees minimal results. This request is then complimented by adding a sign with the request, which has some added effect. It is only when a bulky weight is then added to the key ring that the customers align themselves with the hotel manager’s programme of action by returning the key to reception. Networks and the actors within them thus evolve through the enlistment of actors to counter anti-programmes. Through mapping these associations and dissociations of

heterogeneous actors, this thesis therefore traces how hip-hop-youth work activities took shape and evolved over time.

By employing ANT concepts, this study contributes to literature focusing on the malleable nature of hip-hop. Many ethnographic studies describe how hip-hop culture is adopted, adapted and re-appropriated by various communities in different ways around the world, creating new meanings and uses for hip-hop tropes (see Condry, 2006; Dolby, 2001; Mitchell, 2001a). For instance, the fluidity of hip-hop in New Zealand has been documented by reference to the phenomena of many Maori and Polynesian hip-hop artists incorporating local issues into the content of their rap music, as well as Pacific Island or Maori musical or language elements (Mitchell, 2001b; Zemke-White, 2001). These studies, together with those exploring the use of hip-hop in youth development initiatives (see above), highlight how hip-hop can take numerous forms (Rose, 2008).

This thesis develops these insights around the malleability of hip-hop, by exploring further particularities and idiosyncrasies within how hip-hop is assembled at local sites. By examining the dynamic nature of hip-hop and youth work socio-material practices, this study explores how youth work and hip-hop practices adapt to changing circumstances. In doing so, it highlights messy and unpredictable processes to account for how youth culture practices change. This account thus differs from those that put forward theories of clear and predictable stages of culture development and appropriation (Hebdige, 1979). Moreover, through studying the emergent nature of hip-hop youth work socio-material practices, the flexibility of youth work practice can be explored.

In addition to the concept of translation, this study employs concepts from more recent ANT theorising, often called “after-ANT”. This work explores the multiplicity of realities performed in different sets of socio-material practices, and how these co-exist (Law, 2009). While the works of “classic ANT” focused on how relative network stability is achieved, these more recent ANT studies explore the mess and complexity involved in enacting realities (Law, 2009). Attention is given to the frictions and tensions that endure between actors and networks (Mol, 2013). In employing an ANT framework, this thesis embraces the ambivalences, mess, tensions, contradictions and multiple realities

that are embedded in the enactment of hip-hop and youth work. Attention is thus given to the diverse socio-material practices that enact various forms of hip-hop and youth work. While a full exploration of the ways in which hip-hop realities relate to youth work- hip-hop realities is beyond the scope of this study, this thesis does consider how different versions of hip-hop realities may compete and how various tensions are handled in practice. It thus engages with issues of ontological politics (Mol, 1999).

Description as Explanation

Unlike traditional sociological analyses, ANT does not search for general causes (Latour, 1988b). Latour (1991, 1999) and Law (1994) assert that the descriptions that result from tracing the constitution of these assemblies of heterogeneous entities produce explanations in and of themselves. At the same time, it is acknowledged that in order to produce descriptions that allow complexity to be represented, much must also be erased. This thesis thus offers a series of “snapshot-stories” (Mol, 2002) or what Haxell (2012) calls “slices of practice,” of the on-going enactment of hip-hop and youth work.

Following many other actor-network accounts, this thesis attempts to “show rather than tell” through offering “stories about ‘how’ relations assemble or don’t” (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010, pp. 58- 59; Law, 2009, p. 141). Not arriving at an overarching explanation has the advantage of embracing mess and not erasing contradictions and tensions between the various hip-hop realities enacted throughout the youth work sites visited and the literature reviewed. Through utilising ANT’s “weak” forms of explanation (Latour, 1988b, p.159; Law, 2008), this thesis offers a rich and nuanced account of how hip-hop-youth work activities are assembled.

Following the ontological turn of ANT, this thesis is not an attempt to uncover the “truth” or to represent a singular reality “out there”. It is also acknowledged that this text itself contributes to the building of hip-hop-youth work realities, and thus intervenes in hip-hop-youth work issues (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Law, 1994, 2004; Law & Singleton, 2013; Mol, 2002). Its written academic form gives marginalised hip-hop realities a chance to be circulated amongst diverse readers perhaps unfamiliar with

hip-hop outside of its representation in the mainstream media. This has the potential to see more support for future hip-hop-youth work activities. It is also hoped that those working with youth may read these stories and reflect on their own assemblages for working with youth.

Thesis Outline

The over-arching goal of this research is to examine how hip-hop activities were produced across a range of youth work sites in Christchurch. In doing so it addresses several specific research aims. Firstly, it aims to look at when and how hip-hop was edited or censored in these youth work activities. It considers how different hip-hop 'bads' (such as misogyny, drug use, gangsta culture, and the vandalism associated with graffiti art) were handled in youth work practice. Secondly, it aims to gain an understanding of how youth voluntary engagement occurred in these activities. Thirdly, it aims to explore how these hip-hop activities were resourced. In asking these questions, it seeks to understand the complexities involved in using and assembling hip-hop in youth work contexts.

This chapter has provided an overview of the research rationale and theoretical underpinnings of this research study. The initial examination of available literature lays a foundation for further exploration of the literature within the substantive chapters of the thesis. The reader is also guided to Appendix One for further contextual data and literature on the "goods" at stake within different hip-hop assemblages.

Moving forward, the focus shifts to the methods with which this research took shape. Chapter Two outlines the interrelationship between the researcher and the field. It introduces the reader to how I employed ANT sensibilities in gathering and analysing data to produce a descriptive account for studying and exploring the production of hip-hop culture within youth work.

Using the ANT analytical framework of translation, the following five substantive chapters (Chapters Three to Seven) present the ways in which hip-hop is assembled

within youth work sites of practice. These chapters trace how the actors needed to enact hip-hop-youth work activities were enlisted. I explore how connections between actors are formed through negotiations that take part during translation through various problematisation and interessement strategies. In this way, this thesis unpacks how youth engagement work with hip-hop took place. Each chapter provides a number of snapshot stories that unpack the heterogeneous actors that worked together to engage young people. In doing so, these descriptive chapters examine the complexity of hip-hop-youth work engagement arrangements.

The content of these chapters also provides the means to examine how hip-hop-youth work controversies were handled, through examining the negotiations youth trusts engaged in with funders and young people alike. Following the translation of various actors into a hip-hop-youth work network allows me to reveal an understanding of how hip-hop-youth work activities took shape. Through tracing the countering of anti-programmes these chapters explore the associations that were required to enlist and hold actors in place within a hip-hop-youth work network. The assemblage of various hip-hop-youth work activities are thereby traced in ways that highlight the contingency of these arrangements, so to reveal how any given youth work-hip-hop assemblage might also have been otherwise (Bijker & Law, 1992).

Chapter Three examines interessement strategies by focusing on the work of attuning youth work activities to young people's hip-hop interests. The complexity of enacting hip-hop in youth work sites of practice is explored by examining how efforts are made to shape activities in response to young people's diverse and mutable hip-hop interests. It looks at how "interest maps" of these multiple hip-hop interests and needs were continually refined, and shaped youth work efforts to "keep up with" youth culture interests.

Making hip-hop activities and resources available does not guarantee youth enrolment. In Chapter Four, I look at the work of creating youth interest in the hip-hop activities and resources available within a youth work network. Within this chapter, I further unpack the translation process of interessement by following how youth trusts countered young people's anti-programmes to becoming enrolled in a hip-hop-youth

work programme of action. Using an ANT sensibility, non-humans are considered for the work they do with humans to form anti-anti-programmes that establish connections between a youth trust/youth worker and particular young people. This chapter follows these mediators in relation to how hip-hop identities were built and circulated, as well as how hip-hop resources were provided. It also unpacks how circulating awareness of the activities and resources on offer, and establishing a credible hip-hop reputation constituted an important part of youth trust's youth engagement work.

Chapter Five and Six focus on how hip-hop controversies impact upon how hip-hop is assembled within a youth work setting. Chapter Five explores how hip-hop bads were handled within youth work sites of hip-hop activity. It looks at which hip-hop practices and actors were incorporated within youth trust assemblages, and which were avoided. It follows diverse editing practices to unpack how hip-hop assemblages were reconfigured through negotiations with a range of actors and their alliances. Through following shifts in hip-hop assemblages it shows that hip-hop-youth work assemblages were not only shaped by young people's hip-hop preferences. It considers the complexity of the task of editing hip-hop activities while still creating hip-hop assemblages of interest to young people.

Chapter Six looks at how the resources used in these youth engagement assemblages are enrolled within the youth trust assemblages. This involves an examination of the problematisation and interestment work that youth trusts engage in to translate government funders into their hip-hop network. It unpacks the heterogeneous actors mobilised in negotiation work with government funders, and how hip-hop was translated to meet funder requirements. This chapter also considers the many ways in which resources were assembled by unpacking the range of resourcing actors mobilised to strengthen hip-hop-youth work realities.

Chapter Seven examines the fluidity of youth-work- hip-hop engagement assemblages. It follows the reconfigurations of one youth trust's hip-hop activities and resourcing arrangements that occurred in response to shifts in its web of relations following the Canterbury Earthquakes of 2010 and 2011. This case study traces how this youth trust's hip-hop activities were reassembled as new substitutions and associations of actors

were formed, and the impact these changes had on youth enrolment. Following the series of translations that occurred to enrol actors needed to reassemble hip-hop activities enables an exploration of how these networks evolved in a non-linear way.

Finally, Chapter Eight offers concluding reflections on the study's findings. It considers the value of ANT as a research method for youth studies, and considers avenues for future research that build on insights drawn from this thesis.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction

This thesis is an experiment in applying ANT to the study of youth work and youth culture. However, “applying” does not entirely capture the process, as ANT constitutes a “divergent set of practices” that continue to evolve (Law, 2008, p. 4, Law, 2009; Mol, 2013). I will use a version of ANT developed by drawing on the concepts and methodologies from both traditional ANT and after-ANT versions of material-semiotics. I will draw primarily on the work of Callon (1986b), Callon and Law (1982), Latour (1987, 1991, 1999b, 2005), Law, (1986, 2004), Law and Singleton (2005), and Mol (2002, 2008, 2010). These tools and methods of analysis collected together from the ANT repertoire will enable an exploration and description of some of the webs of socio-material relations involved in the assemblage of hip-hop-youth work activities. I followed hip-hop- youth work activities as they were enacted in multiple sites visited at the time of my fieldwork by following the actors through participant observation, interviews, and examining the assemblage and use of documents. Employing ANT sensibilities in the gathering and analysing of data will allow the unpacking of connections and interactions between actors to uncover some of the complexities of assembling hip-hop-youth work activities.

Efforts will be made in this chapter to practice reflexivity. After all, this thesis enacts what can only be considered one of many possible versions of “hip-hop in youth work activities” as a result of the text’s own representational strategies and situatedness (Law, 2007; Mol, 2013). ANT analysts consider the role of the researcher and writer in the production of the text, and how they may indeed be a part of the assemblage through their presence in the field (Barclay, 2007; Latour, 2005; Michael, 2000). I thus direct attention to how I came to enter the field, and where I decided to stop tracing the hip-hop-youth work networks. Furthermore, after-ANT highlights the insight that the researcher is only ever able to provide a partial account of the realities present (Law, 1994, 2004, 2007; Law and Mol, 2008). Hence, what follows is an account of my experiences in using the research methods together with the conceptual tools from

actor-network theory to produce the textual description of hip-hop-youth work realities in the form of the thesis (Barclay, 2007, p.10). In addition, this chapter accounts for the benefits, but also challenges of undertaking ANT-inspired analysis. In data gathering and analysis, ANT's detective-like methods of "tracing links", and "following unexpected leads and connections" (Law, 2008, p. 4) between webs of heterogeneous actors proved itself to be a messy, and at times, anxiety provoking process. Similarly, in writing this account, choosing to embrace mess and not condense through theorisation proved to be a challenging task.

The chapter begins by discussing how data was gathered. Like Kondo (1990), I adopt an emphasis on the "the processual and emergent nature of ethnographic inquiry" (p. 8). Firstly, I outline how entry to the youth trusts was gained. I then explain how I made selections in what actors and sites to follow. Central to this fieldwork or data gathering process is participant observation. I therefore describe how ANT informed this fieldwork practice of "hanging out". A reflection on how ANT shaped the use of documents in this study also follows. I then describe how my own multiple, hybrid and shifting identities, together with the purpose of the research project itself, enabled me to form relationships with human actors and cultivate their interest in participating in the study. The final part of the chapter traces the selection and ordering processes that I used to translate this data into the stories told within this thesis.

Following the Action

Entering the networks.

Actor-network theorists recognise that the starting point of one's research is arbitrary and is due to choices made by the researcher (Singleton, 1998). I began the task of mapping the assemblage(s) of hip-hop and youth work in Christchurch with the aim of observing all the youth hip-hop projects run in the Christchurch community.

Anticipating that entry and suitability may not be guaranteed at any given organisation, I decided on multiple points of entry. This was also to ensure that I did not limit myself to

a single social network. An initial enquiry to the Canterbury Youth Workers Collective (CYWC) resulted in a list of nine potential sites to visit and key youth workers and/or managers to contact. The CYWC is a key player in the youth work sector in Christchurch. They offer training, networking opportunities and support for youth workers and youth services in Canterbury. They therefore had knowledge on past and present youth work initiatives in Christchurch where hip-hop featured. I also utilised all my personal networks to generate key contacts and to make connections with people who could facilitate my entry into youth work or hip-hop worlds.

Utilising the contact details given to me by the CYWC, I emailed some of the managers and lead youth workers of several youth trusts. At the same time, I utilised my informal networks with links to church groups, schools, or youth community organisations to try and locate youth workers who might consider allowing me to interview and shadow them. My initial entry point into the field was through the latter strategy, with a friend of mine connecting me to a youth worker using hip-hop dance in her work. While awaiting responses to my emails and Facebook messages, I also chose to attend hip-hop events and dance classes to gain some current knowledge of hip-hop worlds. The latter involved building on my previous experience and interest in hip-hop dance, and immersing myself in hip-hop dance worlds where I could create new social connections. It was through hanging out at a dance studio linked to a youth trust that I was able to gain referrals to youth workers and a youth pastor in charge of youth work. The third site of entry was accessed through a prompt email response from a manager of a youth trust asking me if I would like to include them in the study. From these quite different entry points I was able to begin my detective work, determining where and how hip-hop and youth work was being assembled.

Hanging out at these three sites of hip-hop-youth work activity also proved helpful in gaining entry points to other youth trusts, as I was able to meet people associated with these other sites. While hanging out at Youth Trust A (YTA), I met a youth worker from Youth Trust E (YTE) who invited me to follow what his youth trust was doing with hip-hop. Then, while I was hanging out at YTE, the leader of a b-boy crew approached me to discuss his crew's activities, and then invited me to follow their use of another youth trust venue. As will be discussed below, a detective-like following process was readily

initiated once these entry points had been negotiated. By following the actors themselves as well as their referrals to other actors, I moved from site to site and actor-to-actor, tracing the networks of association constituting hip-hop youth work in Christchurch.

Embracing multiplicity and blurry boundaries.

One of ANT's primary points of focus is on the world-building capacities of the actors themselves (Latour, 1999a; Latour, 2005). My study was thus concerned from the outset with how actors framed and configured their worlds. Following the actors in this way proved fruitful in challenging my previous assumptions about the objects of research for this study, thereby widening the scope of my initial project.

I began this research with the intention to study hip-hop programmes. I was already familiar with the use of programmes to work with youth. I had previous experience of structured programmes run by youth workers in the youth justice residential setting where I had previously worked. A government report expressing interest in structured youth development programmes, together with coming across references to "structured" activities in the literature on New Zealand youth work, further confirmed my assumption that structured youth development programmes were a large part of the youth development sector in the community (Martin, 2006; Ministry of Youth Development, 2009a). Similarly, the international literature on youth work with hip-hop used "programme" vocabulary, or alluded to structured activities in the form of "projects" or "workshops" (Hicks Harper, 2008; Huq, 2007; Pardue, 2004). So, with this in mind, I set out to see how hip-hop programmes were assembled in the community context in New Zealand. The inadequacy of the programme focus for my research became apparent early in my fieldwork, however.

My initial conversations with youth workers and managers of youth organisations about the hip-hop activities they offered young people were framed by a focus on "programmes". I soon discovered that what I was proposing to study did not align with the nature of the activities they were providing. For instance, at Youth Trust D (YTD), I

arranged to meet one of their youth workers to talk about my research. I asked the youth worker what “youth programmes” they had, and he explained that everything they did involves hip-hop. He appeared flustered in trying to fit what he knew as a broad range of activities based at the church and the youth trust in my “youth programme” frame. At the church based dance studios, I heard words like “classes” and “performances” being used, where I was expecting to hear “programme”. While at the youth centres they talked about “dance parties”, “events”, “workshops”, and “jamming” or “cypher spaces”. In fact, programme is a word that was not used. I became conscious of its absence, as well as the absence of structured activities that would fit such definitions.

I discussed my problem with boundaries for my project and the absence of the term programmes with a youth worker from an inner city youth centre that helps organise hip-hop events for youth. He explained to me that this notion of programmes is significant, because the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) “likes programmes”. The youth worker explained that this funder was particularly interested in measuring programmes for “youth development outcomes”.⁹ However, he commented that this is not in touch with the reality of the activities aimed to develop youth potential out in the community and are designed to attract youth. He explained that youth are not fond of programmes that are run at set times for a set number of weeks and/or have set youth development outcomes attached. Reflecting upon this tension in implementation, I saw the need to explore these non- programme activities, and to follow how they are put together, and to offer a different perspective on youth work initiatives, activities, and funding opportunities. The appropriateness of ANT for exploring youth work activities over other research methodologies such as programme evaluation then became evident.

It was apparent that studying hip-hop programmes in this way could lead to the exclusion of many other youth work hip-hop activities worthy of study and consideration. I thus decided to revise the language and presentation of my focus for this study. I replaced the word programme with “initiative”, “activity”, or “event”, in an effort

⁹ This has also been noted by youth workers in Christchurch in a study published after I had begun my fieldwork (Bruce et al., 2009). Although later in my fieldwork, youth workers in my study noted that Ministry representatives were beginning to show an understanding of the importance of non-programme based youth development activities.

to encapsulate the broad range of activities that youth workers classed as youth work activity based on one or more of the hip-hop elements of Djing, MCing, dance, or graffiti. This opened up the opportunity for actors to define activities in terms specific to those used within the network, and for me to follow these activities without placing my own limits and labels on what was to be studied. In this way, I took Latour's (1996, p. 200) advice to learn from participants themselves as to "what society is composed of". This resulted in the inclusion of the kind of youth work activities mentioned above, such as dance parties, jam sessions, and performance events and competitions. I would have otherwise excluded these from the study if I had proceeded with a pre-determined research pathway based on dominant frames within the literature and my previous experiences of youth work.

However, without clear-cut programmes run by youth workers, determining whether hip-hop-youth work enactments were occurring was not always straightforward. Taking into account Law and Singleton's (2005) suggestion that an object can change shape and name,¹⁰ I did not discount activities that looked only to fit marginally with any of my current understandings of youth work or hip-hop. This was the case for the dance classes offered by two different church based youth trusts that I came across early in my study. Discerning who and which activity(s) to follow was not immediately apparent, as the youth trust spokespersons encouraged me to attend all their positive youth development workshops, classes and events that featured hip-hop. Being part of a larger church institution that ran many youth development projects, it was initially unclear which of the many different hip-hop dance activities they ran were part of their youth work efforts. Should I follow their youth group activities, the dance classes where they charged families, or only the free workshops they offered through their work at schools? With youth leaders operating in all these activities I also wanted to discern who was considered to be doing youth work. Was everyone practicing youth work considered a youth worker? Following Latour's (2005) advice to follow how boundaries are drawn by participants and the other actors they mobilise, I did not simply resolve such following

¹⁰ Law & Singleton (2005) argue that research methods can comprehend this when realities are understood as multiple and partially connected. For instance, Law (2004) explains how they identified alcoholic liver disease as an object that "wasn't fixed, an object that moved and slipped between different practices in different sites" (p. 79). This slippage was evident in that different professionals discussed different objects, including "alcoholic liver disease", "liver disease", "alcohol cirrhosis", "alcohol abuse", "alcoholism", and "overall quality of life in relation to substance abuse" (p. 78).

dilemmas by imposing distinctions myself. This meant not relying on standard definitions of youth work or hip-hop found in the literature or media.

Although I had a potential interest in all youth development work with hip-hop, I had embarked on this research to discover how youth work and hip-hop came together, and I needed to make the best use of my limited time in the field. In order to satisfy my research interests regarding how hip-hop was being enacted in youth work practice, at each potential research site I attempted to determine if youth work was being enacted alongside hip-hop. I started mapping traces of group building activity (Latour, 2005). In following the talk, inscriptions, and practices that together delineated youth work, I discovered some of the hip-hop activities through which youth work was performed. For instance, youth workers employed through the 24-7 YouthWork network, were defined through funding contracts between school, church, and community funders. Furthermore, these contracts itemised their activities, so one could see how many hours of youth work were being invested in hip-hop activity. In talking to others within and across other organisations, a distinction became clear between those regarded as youth leaders occupying informal definitions of youth leadership within the church on the one hand, and those occupying a formal position of youth worker within the youth trust on the other. For Isaac, a spokesperson of 24-7 YouthWork, this distinction was important as the youth worker title was for those trained in upholding what could be deemed professional youth work standards.¹¹ Through following actors' youth work world building performances I resolved the issue of which hip-hop activities of an institution to follow, and which youth leaders to follow in their work.

Following these youth work delineations and the “anti-groups” they defined themselves against (Latour, 2005), I discovered that the dance classes at Youth Trust B (YTB) and Youth Trust C (YTC) constituted a part of the youth workers' work. Youth Trust D's (YTD) dance classes did not enact youth work, although their b-boy workshops were a part of their youth work services. Similarly, a youth worker's position was formalised through the production of documents, such as newsletters outlining the individual's youth work position within the youth organisation. Youth work contracts between the individual and the youth trust further formalised their youth work role. Thus, I was able

¹¹ These are encapsulated in the *Code of ethics for youth work in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Ara Taiohi, 2011).

to distinguish between youth volunteers and the youth workers proper. In one case, the spokesperson of a youth organisation explained to me that they were not part of formal youth work networks, but still conceptualised their work as taking place within the youth development sector. Thus, in following the actors own mapping of the social context (Latour, 2005), knowledge was generated about the youth development sector, and how youth work boundaries were defined in forming youth work identities.

Determining whether hip-hop was being enacted at a particular site was also an uncertain endeavour. Hip-hop too was a site of controversy, so I followed different groups' own definitions to see where they drew membership boundaries. For instance, some styles of street dance referred to by many as hip-hop were considered by some as not constituting true "hip-hop," as they were not one of the four elements: they were differentiated from the original hip-hop element of b-boying. In contrast, those involved in other forms of hip-hop urban dance considered their art form to be hip-hop and circulated inscriptions claiming so. By embracing the notion of multiple realities being enacted within different sets of practices (Mol, 2002), I did not prioritise one group's definition over another's. As a result, I was able to follow activities that go beyond research concerned solely with "authentic" forms of hip-hop (see for example, Gibson, 2003). This allowed the controversy between "commercial" and "underground" hip-hop activities to be documented, and to consider how they co-exist in youth work worlds. For example, at YTA, in addition to following the "underground" b-boy jams that took place at their premises, I also attended a hip-hop dance party which was dominated by commercial hip-hop music and dance styles. Despite the uncertainty evoked in this process of letting the actors define the boundaries of their worlds, not deciding early on what activities would be worthwhile to attend, led to opening up my study to capturing the diverse hip-hop activities that youth workers were involved in. A key part of an ANT sensibility is being sensitive to ambiguity and controversy, and thus the "mess" of social reality (Law, 2004; Law & Singleton, 2013). I found that by not attempting to erase or simplify the inconsistencies that an open enquiry encounters, ANT equips the researcher to represent these shifting, and at times blurry, boundaries relating to the issues of "what is youth work?" and "what is hip-hop?" This enables one to not rule out networks and actors that are a part of how hip-hop in youth work is done. Through adopting

teachings from both ANT and after- ANT work, I was thus able to learn about and account for things in ways that I would not have otherwise.

Following the actors.

Tracing networks is complex, and in some ways mirrors detective work. Questions are asked of each of the actors, and the researcher follows up any leads to other actors that are mentioned (Latour, 1996; Tatnall and Davey, 2005, p. 773).¹² I started my research by talking to lead youth workers or managers in the youth trusts I had established contact with. These actors identified activities and events for me to observe, as well as other actors I should speak to. These actors included young people, youth workers, managers, and other staff related to the youth trust, as well as representatives from other organisations and institutions they worked with. They also recommended that I talk to people at other youth trusts who they knew were working with youth using hip-hop. Some actors also highlighted the role and significance of non-human actors, such as the music, a canvas, floor coverings, stage or sound-system within their network or the networks of other organisations. I then followed these human and non-human actors, tracing interactions between actors to determine negotiations, alliances, and networks.

Determining where to go and what to follow within each of these trusts sites of activity was reliant upon the guidance and the boundary-making capacities of participants. Given that I was only observing the times when youth work-hip-hop activities were taking place, I needed direction as to what time to turn up, and where to go in order to follow the hip-hop youth work action taking place. This guidance was important, given many sites of activity existed within some youth trusts' buildings. For instance, spaces included basements, dance studios, courtyards, and church auditoriums, within which different activities took place at different times. Such activities included meetings, dance auditions, dance classes, performances and parties. Furthermore, hip-hop activities did not just occur within a youth trust's building. Competitions, performances and other community events featuring hip-hop frequently took place offsite. Recommendations

¹² I gained ethical clearance to undertake this "following" process from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

from both young people and youth workers to attend community events featuring hip-hop saw me travelling to a range of sites such as outdoor spaces in the central city, schools, and parks. Actors also encouraged me to follow their activities online. These sites in cyberspace included videos of competitions and performances, Facebook groups, and websites. An example of this was an MC battle produced onsite at a youth organisation with an online audience in mind.

ANT requires the researcher to trace webs of relations connecting several sites. By “following the actors” (Latour, 1996, p. 243), I was able to move from one site to the next. Following actors’ recommendations and/or mentionings of other actors to instigate other interviews or observations was valuable. This is because it prioritises the knowledge of the actors involved, thereby recognising them as the experts on their respective worlds (Latour, 2005). In this way, the researcher’s own terms of reference may be redefined, and room is made for multiplicity, contradiction and ambivalence; that is, the mess of social realities. However, this following process, relying on actors’ own world building capacities, was not without its difficulties.

Following dilemmas.

In keeping the study open to accounting for the collective action of unexpected actors, I also encountered dilemmas of how to make the study manageable. It is impossible for any researcher to apprehend or document everything relevant to any given phenomena (Law, 2007). A criticism laid at ANT as a research framework is that little clues are given as to how to determine which actors to include or exclude in research and writing (McLean & Hassard, 2004). This is problematic, given every aspect of activity multiplies once a black box in the network is opened. There are always further actors and practices that can be followed and documented (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Law & Mol, 2008; Miller, 1996). Furthermore, one researcher cannot follow or represent actors simultaneously (Law, 1994, 2007; McGrail, 2005). There is therefore a need for the researcher to determine when and where to stop tracing a given network, and which actors to leave as black boxes (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; McGrail, 2005; Mclean & Hassard, 2004; Miller, 1996). Making my project manageable involved not only making

it a local study, but also accepting that it would be a partial account of what was taking place within these local sites (Law 1994; Simpson, 2007; Strathern, 1996).¹³ This involves choosing to follow only some parts of the action (Strathern, 1996), accepting that there are many stories that could be told from any field site (Law, 1994).

As is common practice in ANT studies, I did not follow the activities of actors outside of their involvement in the assemblage of interest (Michael, 2000). This thesis thus maps the “moments” (Michael, 2000, p. 130) when youth work and hip-hop are enacted together in a number of youth development projects in Christchurch. Given my research interest in youth work, I did not attempt to map the practice and production of hip-hop in Christchurch more generally outside of the youth work networks. I also did not follow these youth workers in their non-hip-hop-related youth work activities. Instead, I retained a fieldwork focus on the “pulse” where hip-hop and youth work appear together (Michael, 2000, pp. 130-131). As such it is acknowledged that such a focus privileges some aspects of hip-hop and youth work worlds respectively. To help remind the reader of this limited focus, throughout the thesis efforts are made to de-centre hip-hop. Chapters Three and Six, for instance, highlight that much youth work activity does not involve hip-hop. ANT is well equipped to do this, as it considers the wider webs of relations of which an activity is a part. As the research progressed, I also diverted from an initial chapter plan to consider the place of youth work-hip-hop activities amongst young people’s wider hip-hop practices as it became evident that a more focused approach to gathering information was required.

My decisions on what actors to follow were shaped by the concerns of the human services discipline within which this research project is situated. I decided to focus on following the work of youth workers, so to gain some understanding of how youth work is put together, assembled, and enacted within the context of hip-hop activities. Hence, from the outset I chose to tell stories about youth work and its intersection with hip-hop culture. Retaining a focus on how youth work hip-hop activities were assembled meant more than half of my interviews were undertaken with youth workers. I also prioritised following the work of youth workers over following and hanging out with young people.

¹³ This involved coming to terms with the fact that any ethnographer’s lofty ideals of representing the world as it “really is” are based on notions of singularity and purity, and are thus an impossibility (Law, 1994, p. 46, 2004, 2007).

As discussed in chapter one, this was done to enable an in-depth study of the work of youth workers, an element of action that had been erased in other accounts of hip-hop in youth work contexts. Concentrating on the work of youth workers did not mean that other actors were not followed. Entering the networks through youth work nodes served as a starting point to follow other collaborators involved in resourcing youth work networks including the young people themselves. However, it must be acknowledged that the stories told would have been different if I had followed young people or funders outside of the “pulse” of action between them and the youth work network(s) they were involved in.

This focus, although helpful in giving my fieldwork some boundaries, did not solve the question of how long to follow an organisation’s activities for or how far to follow the networks involved in any hip-hop-youth work activity. While I had hoped to reach a clear saturation point (particularly when I had operated under the notion of structured programmes), the shifting nature of the multiple youth work and hip-hop networks saw new activities and changes in activities emerge on a near constant basis. Initially, I attempted to observe all the innovations at any one site, but it soon became clear that this juggling act was impossible for a single researcher, and that it also constituted a never ending task. It was during two forced exits from fieldwork due to the earthquakes that shook Christchurch that I took time to start to consolidate and code my data; I discovered that I had more than enough material. I decided to heed Latour’s (2005) advice, and to stop following the networks beyond what could be described within the word limit of my thesis.¹⁴

The extent of my following was also determined by other practicalities, such as my time and financial capacities, as well as access issues. For instance, hip-hop crews were not followed in their travels across the country and overseas. I also did not follow actors to meetings considered private, such as meetings with funders, or conversations with young people about their personal matters.¹⁵ As will be discussed below, discussions

¹⁴ In Latour’s fictional professor and student dialogue his professor tells the student: “you stop when you have written your 50,000 words or whatever is the format here... don’t you agree that any method depends on the size and type of texts you promised to deliver?” (Latour, 2005, p. 148).

¹⁵ I had not received permission from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee to do so. Moreover, discussion with young people about their personal struggles was far removed from this study’s ANT focus on socio-material practices and relationships.

with participants about activities after the events took place had to suffice. What was followed was therefore also the result of what could be feasibly studied. The Christchurch earthquakes also served as natural ending points for my participant observation in many sites, as many of the activities I was following were put on hold. This means some slices of practice are covered in more detail than others, for instance in Chapter Six, funding documents were not followed to funders' desks and meetings.

Participant observation.

Latour (1987) emphasises the importance of shadowing actors (in his case scientists) in time and across sites, so to unpack the contingent socio-material practices that make up things that might otherwise be seen as closed black boxes. However, my participation in the field was not about simply shadowing the action; it was also about becoming a part of the network(s) themselves. To follow the action of different actors across sites, I drew on the ethnographic tradition of participant observation. This fieldwork took place between October 2009 and December 2011. Over the duration of the fieldwork I followed the work of six youth trusts. I attended 34 hip-hop activity sessions, 12 hip-hop events, and several meetings. The latter ranged from an AGM attended by young people and community members, to small event planning meetings between youth workers and young people, ranging from three to twenty people. Hip-hop activities ranged from small practice sessions of ten young people, to workshops of around thirty participants, while over one hundred people attended some events. Each participant observation session ranged in length, from several hours at a workshop or jam session, to a day and/or evening spent following the set up and running of an event. By getting involved in the action myself, I was able to discuss hip-hop youth work practices with the actors, as well as make observations of socio-material relationships. My participation took a variety of forms across time and different activities.

Many roles existed in the field that allowed me to readily observe while participating actively in the community without having to adopt a volunteer role or that of a hip-hop

artist. I was able to be an audience member at hip-hop events, and I was able to sit on the sidelines while many hip-hop activities were being run. The latter came as a welcome surprise to me, as I did not have to be positioned as a conspicuous outsider.¹⁶ The sidelines were frequented by a variety of people which could include: members of the young people's family; youth workers supervising an activity and/or those youth workers not running the activity but dropping by to support the young people; and young people waiting for another activity, having a break from the activity at hand, or simply just "hanging out" at the site. While sitting on the sidelines or being in the audience at an event, I was able to participate in the action. By doing this, I learnt about the contribution the audience made to the activities at hand. These roles enabled me to participate while also taking notes, photo and film material, as well as asking the actors questions.¹⁷ These observer positions allowed me to easily take notes on the interactions between a range of actors, and gain commentaries by a variety of people involved, and engage in conversation with others.

I also became a member of hip-hop and youth trust online communities as I took up offers to join different public Facebook groups. This field site, where one can observe relatively unnoticed, can raise some ethical dilemmas for the researcher (Hine, 2008). I chose not to use quotes from these sites, instead choosing to follow up the issues, actors and practices these sites highlighted in the formal interviews I undertook, and in the informal conversations as a participant observer.¹⁸¹⁹ Following these sites of activity was a helpful way of managing multiple fieldwork sites, especially in terms of becoming aware of upcoming events and activities that were posted online. It was also a way to look at membership of communities, and note other news to follow up when I next spoke to actors in person. For example, such news included following up on announcements regarding funding that had been won, resources that had been gifted, or

¹⁶ At public events my ability to blend in required making sure participants I spoke to knew about my research purpose. At non-public activities that I observed, I made sure I got the opportunity to introduce myself and my research project to the group, as well as to new group members when groups changed shape.

¹⁷ Taking film footage and photos was something the other actors in the field did, so my actions were part of mainstream practices. I would also have my notebook out, so that participants could see I had a researcher "hat" on.

¹⁸ This way I could ensure informed consent.

¹⁹ However the public documents posted in these groups were treated as data in their own right (see discussion on documents this chapter). Thus, some texts are considered to be virtual documents, while other texts are considered to be sites or spaces where texts feature as they do in offline worlds. For instance, fliers, could be followed as they were distributed across offline and online worlds.

new collaborations among youth trusts. Following action online became more important in a post-quake environment where youth workers and young people alike made use of these online mediums of communication to stay in touch with their community. Such insights informed my analysis in noting the role of technical mediators in youth work worlds, as discussed in Chapters Four and Seven.

I also became actively involved at some offline sites of youth work hip-hop activity. Youth workers and young people alike encouraged me to give their art forms a go. I drew on my own comfort levels and norms within the site, so sometimes chose to rely on taking up easier observer roles within the field. Nevertheless, if the basics were being taught, I took up youth workers and/or young people on their offers to teach me. These fieldwork opportunities were around dance, where young people and youth workers alike encouraged me to give different dance moves a try. I felt thankful for my former experience in working with young people and for my dance experiences that made these experiences fun rather than daunting. In this way, like Kondo (1990), my personal biography shaped my own research experience and thus the data produced.

Participation also took place through negotiating voluntary roles and tasks that I could help with. Due to the multi-sited nature of my study, and the balancing act involved in being aligned with multiple organisations, I negotiated voluntary roles and tasks that I could help with that did not require my constant presence within the organisation. Such roles included setting up chairs for activities and events, distributing fliers, and helping in the cleaning up effort after concerts or events. On some occasions, more specific volunteer roles were given. For example, at Youth Trust B, I was tasked with videoing their dance concert, and the following year, I was given the task of operating the enrolment desk during their first term of dance classes. Getting involved in these worlds in this way helped me experience and observe some of the background socio-material practices, as well as roles and relationships between actors involved in producing hip-hop activities and events for young people.

Offering my own time in service was also important for other reasons. Gibson (2003) notes how some academics and journalists have been perceived as exploiting hip-hop community members for their own ends. She therefore notes the importance of giving

back to the hip-hop community. It was also the result of being guided by Maori research kaupapa that values becoming part of a community and becoming involved in ways that achieve “somatic knowing” (Bishop, 1996).²⁰

Generating data.

Participant observation allowed me to both participate in and observe the networks enacting various hip-hop realities. As described above, fieldwork, although enjoyable, was separate from the hip-hop activities I was involved with as part of my leisure. Like a detective, I embarked on my fieldwork with an analytical mind-set, making notes, recordings and asking questions. I wrote short hand notes on interactions between people and the material resources used, as well as noting the roles and activities of different people and non-human actors there. In the majority of settings I was able to easily take notes on site, and write down summaries of key conversations that I had had with actors.²¹ After attending activities and events I wrote up and expanded my field notes with extra details from observations and informal conversations. At public events I was able to film aspects of the action and activities taking place to aid my memory when writing up my field notes.

Being embedded in the field, I was able to undertake a fluid interview process. I engaged in a series of conversations with actors as a participant observer at events and activities as well as organising times to meet and talk over coffee.²² Interviews then varied from informal conversations as I followed actors in action, with my notebook at the ready, to formal recorded conversations away from the hip-hop activity itself. In the end, I conducted formal, semi-structured, recorded interviews with 22 different participants, the majority being youth workers, young people, and youth trust administrators. I had a

²⁰ Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson (2003) describe research that establishes relationships within a Maori kaupapa as that which establishes connections and collaborative knowing practices through the researcher engaging somatically in the research process, so that they are involved “physically, ethically, morally and spiritually” (p. 15).

²¹ Observer roles were plentiful, and participants were open to me recording their activities.

²² Some conversations that took place as part of participant observation were not recorded verbatim and/or with the same formal form of informed consent as the other interviews that took place. In the thesis I refer to the content of these accounts but do not name the participants.

few key informants amongst these participants who I did additional interviews with over the course of my fieldwork. This led to a total of 28 formally recorded in-depth interviews each being around one and a half hours long. In addition to this, further interview data was gathered during my participant observation where I also undertook informal conversations with these actors, as well as additional young people, youth workers and other people who were on site, such as parents and youth leaders.

Following Mol (2002, p. 27), I treated human actors as if “they were their own ethnographers”. I initiated discussion that got them to describe their experiences of being involved in a particular set of activities or event; in doing so I asked questions regarding the practices and diverse social and material actors involved in the event or activity that they were involved in. I got them to trace the relationships between actors involved in the creation of a particular hip-hop activity or event, and describe their own “programmes of action” (Latour, 1991, p. 107), predictions of interest, and enrolment strategies. By getting informants to discuss their relationships and experiences with different human and non-human actors in this way, a description regarding the enrolment and collective action of certain actors in the production of hip-hop culture and youth work was generated.

In beginning my research, meetings were undertaken with managers or lead youth workers to determine if their organisation undertook activities that fitted the topic of my research, and to negotiate the conditions for my observations of these activities. Many of these conversations turned into interviews. Once I had entered the field, I built rapport with a variety of people who were eager to help me build an account of their hip-hop activity. This variety of interview contexts suited the sites and actors I was following. Not all actors had time to meet with me separately on multiple occasions. For instance, some youth workers talked to me while they supervised a hip-hop activity that was youth-led. This had the added benefit of myself and the informant being able to observe and refer to elements of a hip-hop-youth assemblage to aid discussion and gain clarity. However, youth workers who ran hip-hop activities had less time for in-depth conversations, so we arranged to meet outside of the site. Separate interviews were also

required when music was played so loud on site that long conversations could not be held.²³

My initial questions were exploratory regarding what hip-hop activities were occurring, the roles of different actors, as well as the goals they sought to achieve through being a part of the activity. As the research progressed, I carried with me prompts that reminded me of questions I had for different actors and groups around the activities in question that had arisen from my observations and previous conversations with other actors, or the actor themselves. Hence, interviews with a range of actors were utilised to check my developing understandings and gain clarification on the socio-material practices involved. Interviewing actors thus enabled me to fill in background information about interactions between actors that I had not been privy to. Some actors, such as youth workers, managers, and youth crew leaders, were interviewed several times. This enabled me to discuss the shifts in their networks over time, and to follow the reconfigurations in their activities in more depth. In this way, I gathered accounts of the constraints actors encountered and the adaptations that occurred, together with the different effects that emerged from the changes to their own webs of relations. By undertaking interviews, both before and after an event, I gained knowledge of the network effects they strove for. I also gained knowledge of what actors had ended up coming together to produce these effects, or what had been absent at moments when their goals were not achieved. Young hip-hop artists and youth workers alike explained to me that I was privy to their experiments in achieving their goals. Having an ongoing and trusting relationship with the actors was thus vital for me to produce detailed descriptions of how hip-hop and youth work were done in practice.

Not only does ANT offer a fresh approach to participant observation and interviews, ANT's methodological tool kit also allows documents to be examined in new ways. From an ANT perspective, documents are conceived of as having agency and playing a part in configuring action, including the roles and relationships between actors (Callon, 2002; Stanley, Du Plessis & Austrin, 2010). I thus studied documents in action, rather than as a "resource" or "topic" (Prior, 2004, p. 91). I focused on how they were assembled and

²³ I used detailed prompts from my observation of actors and activities to invite reflections upon socio-material practices.

used, looked at when they were mobilised, and also noted when they mobilised action within different schemes of youth work action. Through tracing their roles in the action, I gained a better understanding of how actors enrolled other actors to allow hip-hop activities to occur (see Chapters Four and Six). ANT highlights the work of “inscriptions” in helping actors gain credibility and interest others in their “programmes of action” (Callon & Law, 1982; Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987, 1991, p. 107). I gathered a range of public documents used in this way from both online and offline worlds. Newspaper articles, fliers, and newsletters documenting the hip-hop activities were the most common form of inscriptions collected. I also traced the work done by documents by raising these as a topic of inquiry in my interviews with actors. The latter was used to examine the use of inscriptions in the form of emails and texts to various actors, as well as the assemblage of funding documents, without compromising private information. The role documents had in shaping youth work practice was also considered. The YDSA was a document commonly referred to by actors, and was traced in interviews in terms of how it guided their practices. This and other documents were looked at in terms of how they defined realities and prescribed action (Callon, 2002; Stanley, Du Plessis, & Austrin, 2011). Following Mol (2002), I also explored how documents played a part in the enactment of different versions of hip-hop and/or youth work and their constitutive actors, and considered how these different actors-enacted co-existed in the field. Through directing attention to the action and influence of documents as part of wider networks, ANT thus opened up new understandings on youth work practice.

Becoming a Part of the Networks

The stories told in this thesis are a result of the relationships I was able to build and sustain with the human actors. Tracing hip-hop youth work assemblages was dependent upon my ability to be accepted within different youth work and hip-hop worlds and by a range of people. The following discussion reflects upon how the identities I was able to assume contributed to gaining these actors’ acceptance. However, identities are not simply given. Fieldwork, like any other social sphere, requires the researcher to undertake “identity work” (Coffey, 1999, p. 1115). Within ANT, identities can be conceived of as multiple and shifting, and emerging through an assemblage of actors. I

thus paid attention to the actors I associated myself with when in the field. Despite elements of my identity aligning with many of those within the field, much effort and learning was invested into presenting myself in terms appropriate to the different worlds I entered. A consideration of the management of both the insider and outsider elements of my identity sheds light on how rapport and trust was built and the roles I established in the field.²⁴

The multiplicity of my own identity and that of others enabled me to find positions of proximity to engage with a range of actors, relying on different aspects of my identity in each situation. I lacked cultural competence in the four elements of hip-hop: I had no experience in breaking, graffiti writing, MCing, or DJing. However, as discussed in chapter one, I took into the field a familiarity and interest in commercial hip-hop urban dance. Knowledge and experience in hip-hop urban dance, when shared with young people and youth workers involved in commercial hip-hop activities, proved helpful in establishing rapport. I was also not a complete outsider to youth work worlds. This human service worker aspect of my identity was helpful in establishing that I shared the interests of youth workers and managers in youth development. I also relied on presenting this aspect of my identity in building rapport with youth leaders involved in underground hip-hop scenes, who did not see commercial hip-hop as “true hip-hop”, but were interested in documenting the youth development potential of hip-hop.

The rapport I built with younger “tweens” in the field was largely attributable to my association with the youth workers themselves. These youth workers introduced me as their friend to ensure instant trust and rapport, as they said being associated with them would make me “cool”. Making this association meant I benefited from the reputation of hip-hop authenticity the worker had built with the young people.²⁵ In retrospect, I see the value in this strategy, as I became placed as a certain kind of adult figure that was not embroiled in power dynamics that may inhibit young people’s free expression (Freeman & Mathison, 2009, p. 60). I discovered that the youth workers shared my goal

²⁴ I use these terms in their simplicity to indicate my initial position in relation to the degree of distance between the researcher and the researched. It is acknowledged that identities are multiple, so that “the notion of being an absolute insider or outsider is problematic” (Hodkinson, 2005, p. 132), it is also recognised that these positions are not fixed (MacRae, 2007, p. 60). For a discussion of this see Hodkinson (2005) and MacRae (2007).

²⁵ See Chapter Four for a discussion of the things that were brought together to assemble a youth worker’s reputation of being “cool”.

of avoiding being perceived as a traditional adult authority figure. A youth worker at an intermediate school explained to me how as a youth worker, he was constantly negotiating a space for himself between the adult teacher staff and child worlds. Other youth workers spoke of their relationship as being one of friend or big brother/sister. Their positioning and relationships with young people thus enabled them to avoid the pitfalls that youth researchers also wish to avoid, especially within institutional contexts such as schools (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). I thus found being aligned with youth workers advantageous to building trust, in that I was able to adopt a similar identity.

I wished to achieve a certain level of “fit” or acceptability while hanging out at the youth work hip-hop sites of activity. This was both for my own sense of comfort, as I wished to blend in, as well as to avoid enacting identities of difference that could constrain rapport building with participants. Like many fieldworkers my choice of dress, demeanour, and speech constituted an important part of my impression management (Coffey, 1999; Hammersly & Atkinson, 1995). As part of my fieldwork preparation, I undertook background research on hip-hop and youth work culture as it was being expressed in New Zealand. I enlisted many actors to assemble a hip-hop influenced urban identity. I watched music videos, and local youth television programs. I also made observations of young people wearing hip-hop fashion in the city. I sought advice from friends who worked with youth, and from shop assistants who looked like they had hip-hop style. I also attended hip-hop events and concerts in Christchurch, and started attending a hip-hop dance class. This preparation proved helpful in familiarising myself with the different forms of hip-hop self-presentation that I could expect to encounter at different sites of hip-hop practice. Not only fashion style, but also language was considered in terms of how to best conduct myself at different sites to achieve acceptance. For instance, I monitored my language so that it was youth-friendly, using some of the popular slang around, and picking up terms related to hip-hop activity.²⁶

At the same time I wanted to avoid enacting a “try-hard” identity (Thornton, 1995). This required not simply copying all the behaviours, speech and dress in order to produce “a

²⁶ This was part of my own language repertoire at the time. Young people and youth workers would be informal in their interactions with me and would regularly use slang, with secular youth workers using swear words. I did not hip-hop mirror actors’ language exactly. For instance, I did not use generic slang words that were new to me.

fieldwork body which is both acceptable and plausible” (Coffey, 1999, p. 65). I was aware that it was possible that young people may be “resistant to researchers who try to ‘be like them’” (Cottle, 1973; Fine & Sandstrom, 1988; Huq, 2006, p. 113). Being aware of diversity in hip-hop expression within sites, I looked for plausible role models. I found these in youth workers not claiming a hip-hop artist identity, as well as audience members at hip-hop events. The latter were often a part of hip-hop communities, but were involved in ways that were more similar to the marginal member position that I was wishing to occupy. I thus considered how their own identities were assembled when bringing together actors to co-produce my fieldwork body. It was from these members that I learnt it was acceptable to participate in a hip-hop site and not adopt all hip-hop props. For instance, I did not get my ears pierced to wear hoop earrings and I did not wear a cap, styles seen on many of the female hip-hop artists in the field. I thus presented myself in an urban style that I could take with me into my personal life, appropriate for my age,²⁷ gender and lack of hip-hop artist status. This authenticity was important to me as I did encounter actors at times outside of the research sites, and I wanted to present a consistent image to maintain their trust.²⁸

As Coffey (1999) explains, this crafting of the self continues while the researcher is in the field. For me, it was here that I learnt the most on how to “be” in these worlds. Through learning the norms of different sites, as well as the knowledge and skills to “carry them off”, my personal style changed over time. For instance, I learnt from the girls where to buy suitable baggy sweatpants for dancing, and the guys taught me how to do their handshakes. Thus, my experiences in the field saw my dress and demeanour evolve, as I learnt the skills and knowledge required to use them in a hip-hop manner. I

²⁷ I was 26 at the time I entered the field.

²⁸ I lived in close proximity to some of the youth trusts venues for much of my fieldwork. Christchurch is a small city where you run into people all the time. I also came across people, in the hip-hop events I attended as part of my personal life. Actors themselves understood that different activities require various dress, and that identities are in some ways multiple, but it was at these particular informal occasions that I felt my choice of urban attire was important.

soon found that when combined with other aspects of my identity,²⁹ I could easily blend into the field, and that participants were not intimidated or put off by my presence.³⁰

However, at other times my presence in the network was more keenly felt. For instance, being the only female in the room at a rap cypher session, the rappers had moments of self-consciousness—apologising to me for the sexist language they used. It is therefore acknowledged that the degree of candidness and issues spoken to were dependent upon many facets of my identity.

In addition to assembling a hip-hop and/or human service identity, establishing rapport and trust in my project was primarily gained through being explicit about my agenda, in particular by demonstrating how my research interests aligned with those of the participants. When approaching youth workers, management, and young people, I explained my agenda in similar terms subsequent to introducing my research topic on the assemblage of hip-hop activities in youth work sites of activity.³¹ I outlined the misconceptions of hip-hop that I had encountered, and how I wanted to present the complexities of hip-hop and its positive aspects, particularly as it related to its potential for enabling youth development and playing a constructive role for working with youth.³² My study focus and rationale resonated with youth workers and youth who

²⁹ I was a young adult like many others attending an event or activity. The groups I entered were ethnically diverse. Although I am pakeha, my dark hair and olive complexion does not always see this assumed on first impression. Many young people were from a low-economic area where I too had grown up. Some of the events and activities were based in this area, meaning I felt somewhat at home and culturally competent there.

³⁰ I presented my self in ways not overtly “academic”. Sometimes I was mistaken as being yet another young person, youth worker, or youth leader. My participation, within and outside of my observation periods, together with my dress and age, and “learner” approach, enabled me not to position myself in a powerful position vis-à-vis the researched. Their participation in shaping the research and my lack of theoretical lens placed over this, helps maintain the actors power within this research assemblage. In saying that, I recognise that decisions in representing the field and the initial circulation of this research lies with myself and other actors within the academic world.

³¹ Such conversation would accompany discussion of the ethics forms and information sheets, and sometimes featured in my introductory emails. Some participants asked me many questions to understand my motives. My answers assured them that I was interested in presenting their work and their use of hip-hop in a way that wasn’t going to harm. In this way, trust was earned. For instance, one youth worker–hip-hop artist stated how refreshing it was to be able to talk to somebody like me after having had experiences of journalists ‘twisting’ his words when reporting about his graffiti work. Later on, when I gave them the transcripts from their interviews, many of these hip-hop artists expressed delight at seeing their ideas in print.

³² Note, no promises in providing evaluations for funding application support were made. Rather, I promised to present their accounts accurately. As part of the ethics approval process of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee I was required to consider any potential harm to the communities studied, and to be transparent about the research objectives and uses.

wished to increase understanding of hip-hop, and thus of young people's involvement in the culture. Consequently, I found that getting permission to observe hip-hop activities did not prove to be a problem. Young people, youth workers, and youth trust managers were enthusiastic about the project and the prospect of dispelling stereotypical views of hip-hop culture by sharing their own experiences. Thus, these participants can be seen to be enrolling me into their own "programmes of action" (Latour, 1991, p. 107) to circulate alternative representations of hip-hop.

Key to relationship building was a series of interactions that occurred outside of the research settings of hip-hop-youth work activities and events. I went to a range of events where the participants I was studying performed, but where youth work was not being enacted. Sometimes I attended events that young people or youth workers invited me to as a way to demonstrate my genuine interest in the culture, attending without my "researcher hat" on. For instance, I attended dance club events where youth workers performed as DJ's. I also observed actors I was studying performing by chance, for instance at other music events I attended.³³

I also established trust by demonstrating my interest and respect for the culture by asking questions informed by my background research on hip-hop. At the same time, I took the role of naïve inquirer. This was a natural role for me to take, as I was unfamiliar with how the hip-hop-youth work activities were produced and the interests and goals of the different actors. Participants responded to the interest I was taking in their culture. In many instances I built rapport with youth workers and young people through discussing hip-hop controversies with them. Here I made use of the background reading I had done as well as the documentaries I had watched.³⁴ This strategy proved especially useful for forming rapport with underground artists who, as part of these discussions, would then passionately voice their disappointment that young people and adults alike were not aware of hip-hop's core elements and history. Those in underground hip-hop communities expressed appreciation of my attempts to build knowledge about hip-hop,

³³ Instead of writing these experiences up as field data, I recorded these in my research diary, and took from these questions to be taken to informants, whose answers then counted as my "data." For instance, I asked questions of the DJ/youth worker as to how he adapted his music set for a youth dance party as a part of his work.

³⁴ Many of which they had also seen and thus became a point of joint reference for opening up discussions.

as it was something they wished more people involved in the hip-hop community would do.³⁵

Translating the Field into Words

As discussed in Chapter One, ANT researchers avoid imposing theoretical frameworks onto the data they collect. My ANT inquiry into the assemblage of hip-hop activities was not guided by social structures such as gender and ethnicity. Instead it aimed to be attentive to what Singleton and Law (2013) call “ethnographic surprises” (p. 500). Producing a descriptive account that does not rely on theory to provide an explanation was a challenging task. As mentioned in Chapter One, this thesis aims to explore the production of hip-hop-youth work without recourse to an external theoretical framework; instead its explanations are contained within detailed descriptions of the action and actors involved. ANT provides the researcher with sensitivities and vocabulary to unpack black boxes, and describe processes of translation and their effects (Latour, 1999a). Guided by the “infralanguage” provided by Callon (1986b), Callon & Law (1982) and Latour (1987, 1991, 1999b, 2005), I paid attention to the actors’ world building capacities in both generating and coding data. The concepts played with by Mol (2002, 2008, 2010), and Law and Singleton (2005), provided the means to attune to the enactment of multiple and contradictory realities, and to consider how these realities relate together. In this way, the ANT toolkit encouraged me to not overwrite actors’ own understandings of their activities, or to erase contradictions or ambivalences from my account as exceptions in the enactment of realities, and instead to embrace the “mess” of social reality (Latour, 1996, 1999a; Law, 2004).

However, refraining from the use of theoretical explanations was not always easy. I sometimes found myself applying theoretical concepts not used by participants to arrive at clear categories of action and their effects. In Chapter Five, for instance, I found myself labelling action and goals in terms of youth development effects discussed in the youth development literature and imposing these on top of actors’ own descriptions of the

³⁵ This was a culturally appropriate thing for me to do given that knowledge and history are important facets of underground hip-hop culture (Gibson, 2003).

action, as well as on my observations of relationships and practices. Along the way I learnt to be vigilant and let the action itself, and the infralanguage used to trace it, provide the explanations of what and how something was happening. Conversations in supervision meetings were productive for reflecting on when I was getting misled away from the action by relying on these frames, and provided a space to engage in detective musings.

It also proved challenging to not privilege the human actors' agency when describing practices. Old habits were hard to break. Many re-writes of drafts took place to figure out how to represent the co-production of activities. It was also decided in supervision sessions that in addition to quotes from participants, photos could be introduced to give non-humans more voice and presence within the account. In order to illustrate associations between actors, the decision was also made to use hyphens between actors, so to emphasise the role of each in the co-production of any event or actor.

Sorting and reconfiguring the information.

As in all research inquiries, my generation of findings involved processes of simplification and translation throughout the different stages of data gathering, storage and writing (see Latour, 1999b). I coded data by using ANT concepts and terms such as enrolment, flexibility, ambivalence and multiplicity, and attaching these to themes relating to my research interests, such as youth enrolment, funder enrolment, youth work flexibility/mutability, and hip-hop multiplicity. Sub-codes were developed to discern linkages between different activities, actors, and representations. Some codes were made to follow actors throughout the different sites of practices data had been generated from, for instance, money, the YDSA, floor, music, b-boys, fund representative, kicks, and social media. Other codes were developed that related to practices, for instance, funder negotiation, censorship, keeping up with youth culture.

I soon realised analysis and writing is a messy process involving many mediators. I added post it notes to the documents I had collected in the field and to the printed transcripts and field notes, noting relationships and traces left between different actors.

Memos were written to bring some of these ideas generated in their various scribbles into some kind of order. In doing so, I tried to identify and privilege actors and practices that the actors themselves identified as key to their enrolment and part in the production of a hip-hop youth work activity, or to their recruitment of other actors deemed important for the successful workings of a network. For instance, flooring emerged as a key actor in both young people and youth workers' accounts of venue requirements for hip-hop dance to take place.

In writing the draft chapters, I then returned to the transcripts, documents and field notes and, utilising the “cut and paste” operations of the software package, sorted and reconfigured the data in word files dedicated to different aspects of the action. Along the way new codes and sub-codes were added to my files as I explored differences and similarities in the collective action of actors across various assemblages. In writing the various drafts, some cases were chosen over others to illustrate some of the different assemblages or ways of producing and doing hip-hop-youth work. Writing thus involved the coming together and then erasure of lots of data.

By being both an insider and outsider to the worlds studied, by working across multiple organisations at any one time, and by following a variety of actors and taking on a variety of roles within a site, I was able to retain some analytical distance. I did not find myself evaluating one activity or programme as “better” than another. Through being exposed to multiple ways of working and by considering the differences in their assemblages, I soon realised how these were all adaptations to different circumstances—each was trying to figure out the best way to achieve “the good”, by handling different sets of goods and bads (Mol, 2010).

Deciding which stories to tell.

Law (2004; 2007) points out that one inevitably produces a partial description of any given social reality, as realities are multiple and messy, and any given representation produces set absences and presences. In ANT research, the task of telling stories of socio-technical processes and effects (Law, 1994) means that the task of collating and

analysing data is largely that of selecting which stories to tell. Despite collaboration being sought throughout the research process, in the end, the descriptions provided here are my own. Like Mol (2002, p. 26), I wish to note that I have made the final decisions as to which actors to bring to the fore or leave in the background. I chose stories that highlighted the complexities of assembling hip-hop within human service practice that had not been explored in the existing literature. I selected slices of practice that unpacked interactions between actors not described in much depth in the literature. In this way, the work of a variety of heterogeneous actors could be traced. I also chose stories that showed some of the different ways hip-hop youth work activities could be assembled in order to highlight contingencies and therefore how “things might have been otherwise” (Bijker & Law, 1992, p. 3). These slices of practice were also those that could contribute to current debates and literature in the youth studies field. In particular, the slices of practice chosen were those relevant to local youth work practice—research on which is still in its infancy in New Zealand (Bruce et al., 2009). Slices of practice were therefore chosen with a human service audience in mind.

The stories told here are also dependent on the places within the networks of hip-hop-youth work that I entered, and the aspects I followed. As Singleton (1998, p. 336) points out:

Networks can be entered at various points, and the picture that is seen of the network will change according to the viewpoint taken by the analyst. You are following the actors, but you must start somewhere.

Where and when I entered the networks had implications for the activities that I ended up following. If my fieldwork had occurred earlier, I could have witnessed activities in different youth trusts that were not running at the time of my actual entry.³⁶ Similarly, while I write this, new hip-hop-youth work activities are being assembled in the city. The earthquakes also saw initiatives that I had planned to visit put on hold or disestablished. Consequently, this study does not cover graffiti and hip-hop music production activities in the same depth as hip-hop dance. Furthermore, given that I was not following programmes with set finish and end dates, the nature of my entry points meant that I was witnessing activities and groups at different stages in their

³⁶ Some youth trusts on the list given to me by the CYWC were not running their hip-hop activities as they were looking for replacement hip-hop-youth work instructors.

development. I thus witnessed different stages in hip-hop activity innovation and evolution, as well as different places in the cycle of an activity. The stories told here are thus a product of the nature of the hip-hop youth work action happening at the time and places I conducted my fieldwork.

The stories selected were also those that met my ethical responsibilities to participants. When people told me stories “off the record,” these became absences in the representation of hip-hop-youth work realities. Despite undertaking measures to ensure confidentiality,³⁷ given the local nature of the study, and the interconnected nature of the communities studied, it is inevitable that the actors themselves, as well as those with knowledge of the local field can identify the actors represented in the thesis.³⁸ Allowing this possibility can be justified by seeking to enact the good of sharing stories of the complexities of hip-hop youth work practice, as sought by the actors themselves.³⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed how I used concepts and practices from the ANT “methodological tool kit” (Law, 2008, p. 4) to trace the assemblage of hip-hop in youth work worlds. I have provided an account of my research methods inspired by ANT’s methodological approaches of following the actors through participant observation, interviews, and examining the assemblage and use of documents. Many advantages to generating knowledge around the assemblage of hip-hop-youth work practices were found. Following the actors and positioning them as experts saw me travel to sites and document hip-hop-youth work activities I may not have otherwise. As will become clear in the coming chapters, producing a descriptive account of the interactions between

³⁷ Photographs have been displayed in ways that ensure confidentiality. To pursue the same end, pseudonyms are used in the place of the names of participants, projects, and youth trusts.

³⁸ Despite making actors aware of this risk I found at times they were willing to impart information that could be harming to them if misconstrued by other parties they were in relationship with, especially since I cannot faithfully represent the context under which the comments came. To avoid harming present relationships between participants, I made the decision to not identify the youth trust or person linked to practices or statements that could compromise their reputation with funders, other organisations they collaborated with, or young people. In some cases, I have made some of these comments off the record.

³⁹ Participants were given the opportunity to review transcripts and provide comments to make sure they were happy with what they had said. Many of the actors said that I did not have to worry about the use of pseudonyms. However, my ethics approval required me to. Youth workers and hip-hop artists alike were proud of their work. Furthermore, no one was enacting illegal activities that could put them at risk.

actors allowed me to document complexities in the assemblage of youth work hip-hop activities that would remain hidden in any studies that kept these actors in the background or only considered them to be context.

This chapter has also attended to some of the challenges encountered in undertaking research that attempts to both suspend *a priori* assumptions and embrace mess. The uncertainties it generated saw fieldwork that was demanding on the researcher: I took a wide scope, only narrowing my focus over time as identities and participants' activities became clear. While gathering data, I came to terms with the partial nature of any inquiry, an understanding that was valuable when trying to write up my findings. I learnt to be modest about what my research can depict or explain (Law, 1994), and have thus endeavoured in this chapter to highlight the limitations and non-innocence of this study.

Participant observation was critical to the development of areas of interest that became the slices of practice documented in this study. My own experience of identity work impacted on my inquiry. I observed how those in the field engaged in this work, and I questioned youth workers and young people about self-presentation in both hip-hop and youth work worlds. The answers that emerged from this questioning inform aspects of Chapter Four, where the necessity of a hip-hop identity, and how these are formulated, is considered. The variability of the hip-hop youth work assemblages within and across sites highlighted that there was, in fact, no single formula for engaging with youth. The thesis is also informed by my firsthand experiences of youth work engagement practices. As an outsider to these groups within the youth trusts, I got to feel what it was like to be enrolled by them. Having been subject to their relationship building practices myself, I was more alert to the similarities and differences in interressement assemblages across youth work sites. These examples highlight how through using participant observation I gained an understanding of the similarities and differences between actors and the assemblages in which they featured. Overall, participant observation enabled me to see things that I would not have otherwise been aware of, and therefore would not have appeared in the following descriptions of slices of practice involved in the assemblage of hip-hop in youth work activities.

Chapter Three: Following and Mapping Youth Interests

Introduction

The youth trust staff in this study were quick to point out that hip-hop was one of many activities they used to work with youth. Many stated that hip-hop's place in their offerings was a result of efforts to follow youth interests. Attempts were made to shape the youth activities in response to young people's diverse and shifting needs and interests. For the trusts involved in this research, hip-hop was one possibility amongst many others for engaging with youth.

At the time of the study, hip-hop activities were not used with all young people; hip-hop formed just one part of a broader range of activities. The hip-hop activities themselves also took on many different forms, from underground MC cypher sessions to hip-hop urban street dance classes. Not all hip-hop activities and actors were of interest to young people invested in hip-hop, with different sets of young people engaged in each activity on offer within a youth trust. Furthermore, as new hip-hop trends emerged, some hip-hop actors and practices had to be continually reconfigured so as to retain youth interest in the hip-hop activities on offer.

Successful enrolment in any activity relies on an enunciator accurately predicting the interests of those they wish to enrol (Callon & Law, 1982; Latour, 1991). This chapter provides an analysis of the prediction work that informed youth trust efforts to enrol young people within youth work worlds. I argue that the incorporation of particular hip-hop activities and hip-hop actors into youth work assemblages was the result of mapping young people's interests—by youth workers and others within the youth trust assemblage.

I begin this chapter by outlining how the following of youth interests by a youth trust's workers saw hip-hop activities come to be incorporated in youth work worlds. In doing so, I describe how hip-hop activities were assembled as part of youth work efforts to enrol young people into the youth work or youth trust assemblage. I then examine how

different forms of hip-hop were produced both within and across different youth trusts for the purpose of enrolling different groups of young people. Exploring the multiplicity of hip-hop in this way reveals the complexity of the task of assembling hip-hop activities that align with youth interests. The mutable nature of youth work hip-hop networks is then explored by considering how efforts were made by youth trust workers to reconfigure youth work assemblages by following youth interests. Here the work of keeping up with youth culture is unpacked. Through this discussion, I describe how the successful enrolment of young people can be partly attributed to the fluidity of youth work assemblages that are attuned to youth culture interests.

Translating Youth Interests

Drawing on ANT ideas around translation, I was able to trace youth interests within the context of youth enrolment. The translation of interests is considered by ANT theorists to be critical to understanding how actors enrol one another to support a particular programme of action (Callon & Law, 1982; Callon, 1986b; Law, 1986; Latour, 1991). The success of an enrolment strategy depends on the accuracy of an actor's predictions regarding the interests of others (Latour, 1991). Such conceptions of interests are termed "interest maps" by Callon and Law (1982).

Interest maps pertain not only to the interests of the actors another actor wishes to enrol, but also concern the actor's conception of their own interests. The latter are linked to the former, and shape decisions for future courses of action. These conceptualisations of interests are simplifications that can be re-worked through the gaining of new knowledge. An interest map determines which actors are assembled together as part of enrolment efforts. An accurate interest map therefore contributes to successful interessement attempts (Latour, 1991; Callon & Law, 1982). Interessement refers to the phase of translation that sees one actor make efforts to create an interest within another actor to take on a role in a network (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987). Rather than an actor being seen as having a pre-existing interest in the network, Callon and Law (1982) argue that this interest is a product of the successful negotiation strategies of the actors whose network these actors join. This act of translation therefore involves an

actor “funnelling” the interests of another into a particular programme of action (Callon & Law, 1982, p. 619). Interests are identified, acted upon and transformed. In the current study, youth interests can be described as transformed by youth trust workers. Thus, Callon and Law’s concept of interest maps provides a useful way to unpack the working maps used by youth work actors in these translation attempts. These working maps were used to select hip-hop activities and actors that were incorporated and enacted within a youth work assemblage.

By unpacking how interests are determined and responded to, this chapter offers insights into processes that are not explored in depth in the youth work and hip-hop literature. While the literature has considered the use of hip-hop in ways that cater to government and local council policy initiatives (Baker, Bennett & Homan, 2009; Blaustein & Peters, 2011; Huq, 2007; Pardue, 2004, 2007), the processes involved in the formation and adaptation of activities in ways that meet the needs and interests of young people is left largely undocumented. There are studies that have identified the activities of formal consultation (Beaulac, Bouchard & Kristjansson, 2009), or collaboration with young people (Blaustein & Peters, 2011; Florez-Gonzales, Rodriguez & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006; Hicks Harper, 2008), as explaining hip-hop’s presence within youth development initiatives, where support for young people’s hip-hop activities emerges from the identification of youth interests, or as the product of a youth-led project. This chapter builds on these studies, unpacking these assemblages further to explore a number of diverse ways in which youth interests were followed.

In the current study, the youth work practice of following youth interests often equated to young people taking a role in decision-making. This meant the young people had input into the configuration of activities produced for or with them. The youth workers strove to help young people participate in decision-making forums so to fulfil the youth development principle of youth participation (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). Participating in such forums is said to provide youth development experiences and outcomes (Farthing, 2012; Hamilton, Hamilton & Pitman, 2004; Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005; Ministry of Youth Development, 2009a; Sapin, 2009). While youth workers in this study followed youth interests as part of their positive youth

development practice, in this chapter my focus remains on how the formation of interest maps guided attempts to enrol young people into youth work networks.

Using an ANT framework to follow how interest maps guided the incorporation of hip-hop into youth work assemblages ensured a wider focus than is evident in literature focused on tracing youth participation practices (see Crimmens & West, 2004; McGachie & Smith, 2003; Rimmer, 2012). There are calls for further inquiry and documentation into the implementation of youth participation practices and principles in Christchurch based youth work (Bruce et al., 2009). In this thesis, however, I do not aim to evaluate the degree to which these principles and practices were being put in place by the youth trusts and its workers.

While it was clear that many youth trusts undertook a youth-driven or youth-led approach to activity formation, it was equally clear that following youth interests did not always involve direct youth input into decision-making. I therefore do not simply trace the respective roles of youth workers and young people in assembling hip-hop activities. Drawing on frameworks used by other ANT researchers, such as Latour (1991) and Callon (1986b), I map the role of non-human actors in allowing youth interests and goals to be followed. Moreover, as will become clear in this thesis, I describe the ways in which these human actors are mobilised into action by heterogeneous actors.

Utilising the Appeal of Hip-hop

Davies (2010) observes that where young people are in a position to choose to participate in youth work activities, they will always hold some power in shaping the nature of the activities. Youth workers are faced with the need to make young people want to attend activities. Studies have highlighted that there is a need to follow youth interests so to engage with young people, and make an initial connection between young people and a youth organisation (Brice Heath & Roach, 1999; Rimmer, 2012). Davies (2005) points out that youth work activities must therefore offer immediate appeal and returns to the young person. In the current study, it was in these attempts to engage young people in youth work activities and relationships that hip-hop found a place in

youth work worlds. Other accounts of hip-hop in work with youth have noted that practitioners should utilise hip-hop activities because of hip-hop's youth engagement potential (Hicks Harper, 2008; Tyson, 2003; Tillie-Allen, 2005). The following sections of this chapter look at how hip-hop was used to engage with a wide range of youth. It shows how hip-hop's broad appeal, together with its multiplicity and mutability, enabled activities to be configured in a way that enrolled a variety of young people.

Introducing hip-hop to engage with Maori and Pacific youth.

Hip-hop's appeal to marginalised youth is commonly stated as a core reason for its use within youth development, therapeutic, and educational activities (Tyson, 2002; Leafloor, 2012; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002). Hip-hop's origins and continued popularity amongst disenfranchised African-American and Latino youth, and its uptake by youth belonging to other oppressed populations, such as those belonging to indigenous cultures, is used to justify its incorporation in culturally sensitive interventions (Alvarez, 2012; Elligan, 2012; Leafloor, 2012; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002; Tyson, 2002).

A range of educators, therapists, and social workers have written about the perceived value of incorporating hip-hop into their work as a way to capture youth interest and speak their language (Alvarez, 2012; Elligan, 2004; Morrell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002). Within New Zealand, calls have been made to use hip-hop to engage Maori and Pacific young people in education initiatives (Turner & Jackson, 2011). Indeed, there has been demonstrated successes in using hip-hop to engage Maori and Pacific youth in a public health education campaign (TNS, 2005). As mentioned in chapter one, studies have highlighted the popularity of rap music, and other hip-hop elements with Maori and Pacific youth in New Zealand (Henderson, 1999; Mitchell, 2001b; Scott, 1985; Zemke-White, 2000). It is therefore not surprising that some success has been achieved using this medium with these groups of youth. In the present study, youth work and youth

trust spokespersons described hip-hop as a tool for engaging with these young people and their families.⁴⁰

Youth workers and youth trust co-ordinators in a couple of the youth organisations I studied inferred a particularly strong and common interest in hip-hop in Maori and Pacific youth. For example, Peter, a youth worker at YTA, noted that the Maori and Pacific youth they worked with could relate to and identify with hip-hop music. He said:

“The core messages running through hip-hop—is people that have come from poverty and stuff like that”.⁴¹

By following young people’s interests (Callon & Latour, 1982), YTA had created hip-hop programmes, events and supported budding hip-hop artists during its time of existence. Interest in hip-hop was also attributed by the youth trust manager to a more general appeal to Maori and Pacific youth of activities based on arts, music and performance. This perspective is noted by other authors who have examined what works with Maori and Pacific youth in education settings (Phillips & Mitchell, 2010; Whitinui, 2010). Providing hip-hop activities therefore became a way of providing activities of interest to Maori and Pacific young people.

For YTB, Maori and Pacific youth were over-represented in their hip-hop activities in comparison with the larger ethnic group makeup of Christchurch city. Funding requirements,⁴² together with the goals of the wider community trust to support these members of their community, saw the community trust supporting initiatives that engaged Maori and Pacific people.⁴³ The success that the trust had with their youth work-hip-hop dance classes and concerts in bringing in Maori and Pacific members of the community into the church ensured that these activities received the continued support of the community trust’s administrators.

⁴⁰ Despite the multi-cultural make up of hip-hop-youth work activities’ participants, Maori and Pacific youth and their families were over-represented in these activities in relation to their representation in ethnic demographics in the city as a whole.

⁴¹ Similarly, in the literature the popularity and uptake of hip-hop culture has been linked to affinities Maori and Pacific youth felt with African American hip-hop artists facing similar social and economic struggles (Mitchell, 2001a; Zemke-White, 2000).

⁴² See Chapter Six.

⁴³ It was explained to me by the community trust administrator that the church and its community trust were struggling to engage with this element of their local community, and that this was where hip-hop’s value lay for them.

Callon and Law's (1982) interest map framework highlights human actors as inferring the interests of other actors. Aroha, the community youth worker for YTB, had the role of determining the interests of the young people and the community. Like YTA's manager, Aroha attributed Maori and Pacific young people and their families' interest in YTB's hip-hop dance activities as deriving from these communities being "naturally performing arts based".⁴⁴ This observation aligned with an explanation given to me by a Maori parent who described how his family chose to become a part of YTB's dance studio over other community and commercial dance studios. This parent noted that this was because of the performance opportunities it provided in the form of an end of term hip-hop dance concert, and he also framed this love of dance performance as being linked to his Maori community and identity. These examples from YTA and YTB illustrate how some youth trusts established hip-hop activities in efforts to translate youth culture interests into interest in their youth trust's activities. Using an ANT framework, we can see that the youth trust's conceptualisations of interests informed an interest map that guided their assemblage of activities, resulting in successful enrolment efforts of young people, and in some cases, their families too.

However, the incorporation of hip-hop into youth work activities was not simply the result of following the interests of Maori and Polynesian youth. The youth workers and youth trusts in this study wished to work with a broad range of young people. Hip-hop's broad appeal meant hip-hop had the potential to engage with a wide range of youth. Unlike many of the hip-hop initiatives documented in the literature, this study documents a range of situations where hip-hop was used to work with young people from a variety of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Building connections with families that were part of the local community formed an important part of the role of community youth workers.

⁴⁵ Hip-hop activities brought together youth occupying many different demographic positions. While Christchurch does not have high numbers of Maori and Pacific youth or youth from immigrant families, these groups were over-represented in the young people engaged in hip-hop-youth work activities. Young people and workers described one of hip-hop's strengths as being its ability to bring diverse young people together. Appendix One discusses how these connections between participants and a sense of community was developed.

Working with hip-hop's multiplicity.

Despite hip-hop's broad appeal, not all hip-hop activities were of interest to all young people. Hip-hop's diversity, both within itself as a culture, and across time and space as new styles arise, means that hip-hop consists of many co-existing versions. Describing hip-hop in this way offers an alternative to perspectives offered in the literature that problematize hip-hop as a non-inclusive culture. Rather than focusing on the under-representation of female participants (Baker & Cohen, 2008; Mitchell, 2003), or other cultural groups (Templeton, 2005), a range of co-existing realities and experiences are documented. Viewing each enactment of hip-hop as a separate event highlights the appeal of certain hip-hop forms for different youth.

Callon and Law's (1982) concept of interest maps encourages the researcher to trace which young people enact which versions of hip-hop, providing an account of hip-hop culture as one that fits the interests of a diverse range of young people. Hip-hop's popularity, along with the diversity noted above, further explain why hip-hop features in youth work strategies to work with young people. Of course, the multiplicity of hip-hop interests means that the youth work task of catering to hip-hop interests is complex. Here, the fluidity of youth work assemblages is evident, as changes in configuration and the enrolment of new actors resulted from following young people's hip-hop interests and needs. As noted by Callon & Law, interest maps can be formed of different actor's interests. Lutfey (2005) uses this interest map framework to follow how doctors customised their enrolment strategies so to align a patient's interests with a certain plan of action. Similar to Lutfey, in the current study, the formation of multiple youth interest maps by a youth trust was seen to result in different hip-hop activities being assembled to enrol different groups of young people.

The hip-hop elements.

Some of the young people at the youth work sites visited had a strong interest in a particular hip-hop element. While some young people dabbled in a few hip-hop elements, many identified a wish to channel their energies into developing their chosen art form. Perhaps partly as a consequence of this, at the time of the study activities were

occurring that delineated distinct communities emerging through each of the hip-hop elements in Christchurch. Spokespersons for crews within each element identified that people were specialising in, for example, music production elements, b-boying/b-girling, or graffiti.

The groups that formed around different hip-hop elements reflected very different sets of tastes and versions of hip-hop culture for youth workers to meet. The interests of these young people were reflected in very different assemblages of people and things. Forming a successful youth hip-hop interest map was therefore reliant upon youth workers gauging whether young people had a firmly entrenched interest in a particular hip-hop element, or whether they were open to a broader range of hip-hop activities.

Commercial vs. underground.

Another variance in hip-hop interests, identified by young people and youth workers alike, was the difference in participation along commercial or underground lines. Latour (2005) explains that group boundaries are constantly being performed into being. One means by which this is achieved is when spokespersons for a group identify certain associations of socio-material practices that position their group as distinct from another group—what Latour (2005) terms the “anti-group”. Mitchell (2003) and Maxwell (2003) describe how the delineation between commercial and underground production has rendered authenticity a key issue in hip-hop. Many hip-hop participants describe certain practices as “true hip-hop” or those that constitute “keepin’ it real” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 45). Such a distinction often stems from boundaries enacted between “true style” and commercial derivations (Maxwell, 2003; Mitchell, 2003, p. 45). In the current study spokespersons for underground groups associate their group members as having knowledge of hip-hop history. They linked their hip-hop knowledge and practices to actors such as films documenting the roots of the hip-hop elements in America, as well as the knowledge they had acquired from hip-hop mentors.⁴⁶ They compared this to the lack of ties commercial groups had to such actors, blaming their links to popular culture, such as “pop” television and radio programmes.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the importance hip-hop participants place on knowing hip-hop history see Gibson’s (2003) study of hip-hop culture in New Zealand.

Some underground groups were more accepting of commercial derivations, but enacted a hierarchy of authenticity. For instance, b-boy crews often supported dancers enacting other forms of hip-hop urban dance,⁴⁷ but explained that these did not meet the definition of true hip-hop. The majority of these young people identified themselves as not wishing to participate in commercial forms of hip-hop dance. The b-boys explained this to not only me but also to the youth workers. One non-hip-hop artist youth worker told me, “don’t tell them you do that [commercial urban hip-hop dance]; they *hate* it”. This youth worker, like many others I spoke to, formed multiple youth interest maps in relation to the specific groups of young people that they worked with. Those interest maps that assigned youth interest in the latest hip-hop dance trends or mainstream hip-hop music did not shape enrolment strategies targeted at young people involved in underground hip-hop elements. Instead, as will be discussed below, these young people were supported through the provision of youth trust resources to assemble a jam and practice space.

Given these diverse hip-hop interests, youth workers often tried to predict which forms of hip-hop were of the greatest interest to young people.⁴⁸ The assessment of this interest was made through connecting with and observing young people in the community. Making social connections is not just a human affair. It involves a range of actors (Latour, 1991). In this study, points of connection with young people were assembled using technological actors, as well as by the mobilisation of youth workers at a range of sites in the city, such as schools, church, and inner city youth hangouts. This allowed diverse hip-hop activities to be offered before investing in the recruitment of needed resources. For instance, YTC’s decision to produce hip-hop concerts and dance studio activities was informed by the youth workers’ observation of youth dance activities in schools. Aroha described how she decided to run dance classes and concerts on the basis of her observations of the popularity of hip-hop events based on commercial hip-hop music previously held in the church community. In contrast, Mark

⁴⁷ They were appreciative audience members and in one case even invited urban hip-hop dance groups to perform at their b-boy battle event.

⁴⁸ This was not necessarily about gaining the highest youth participation numbers for a single activity for funding purposes. Some youth trusts supported several smaller groups involved in different underground youth hip-hop arts activities. See Chapter Six for a discussion of the diverse ways in which a youth trust could resource hip-hop groups.

from YTE observed b-boy crews using a small space at YTA two evenings a week, and so offered YTE's venue space if they needed it. Some youth trusts used the Facebook survey tool to gauge interest in different activities. Other youth trusts and their youth workers invited young people to bring any ideas that they had for activities to them, either in person, or by posting a message on a website page that they had set up.

However, young people's tastes were not always treated as stable or singular. Callon and Law (1982) explain that the current interests of an actor are "temporarily stabilized outcomes of previous processes of enrolment" (p. 622). The researcher should, therefore, follow attempts made by others to transform these imputed interests by enlisting these actors into another assemblage. So far, I have been considering how the youth trust attempted this through translating youth hip-hop interests into that of a hip-hop youth work activity interest. Some youth workers also attempted to translate young people's commercial interests into an interest in an underground hip-hop element, exposing young people to other socio-material practices.⁴⁹

Underground artist-youth workers explained how they wished to educate young people in "true hip-hop"—both to enrol a new generation into their community, and because they believed some hip-hop goods emerged through specific underground hip-hop practices.⁵⁰ Many young people with hip-hop commercial hip-hop tastes took up these opportunities. In contrast, when young people were already interested in an underground hip-hop element, youth workers did not attempt to widen their hip-hop repertoire into the commercial realm; an interest in an underground element was judged as incompatible with an interest in commercial activities. Any attempt to extend youth interest into commercial production of hip-hop could constitute a form of cultural disrespect and in-authenticity that could jeopardise the connections being built with these young people. This shows how the interest map formed shaped enrolment strategies (Callon & Law, 1982).

⁴⁹ The enlistment of non-humans is important here. Hennion, 2007 talks about the importance of being exposed to "things" as part of developing tastes, a topic Fogarty (2010) considers in the traveling of b-boy tastes around the world.

⁵⁰ See Appendix One for a discussion of some of the goods identified by participants.

Shaping youth work content to young people's interests.

The range of possible existing hip-hop interests presented a difficulty in providing a “one size fits all” hip-hop activity for young people invested in hip-hop culture. The multiplicity of hip-hop interests means that youth workers could not simply rely on identifying an interest in hip-hop on the part of young people in order to enrol them into a youth work-hip-hop activity. This is illustrated in the previous section with regards to commercial and underground hip-hop activities. Providing hip-hop activities and events for young people does not guarantee an alignment with young people's hip-hop interests. There is the potential to get it wrong. In his textbook for youth work in New Zealand, Martin (2002), advises youth workers to assess how committed a group of young people are to a sub-culture. The youth worker should ascertain if the group they wish to work with engages in the sub-culture as a lifestyle or if they engage in it as part of commercial trends in popular culture. To not do so, Martin (2002) argues, could result in the production of an activity that young people will not attend. This claim is supported by other youth studies researchers who have looked at the impact of not aligning youth interests with the activities offered (Brice Heath, & Roach, 1999; Rimmer, 2012).

By forming multiple interest maps and responding to these in distinct ways, many youth trusts in the current study were able to successfully translate young people's hip-hop interests in ways that saw the enlistment of young people in youth work-hip-hop activities. For instance, YTA provided young people with a variety of hip-hop activities and resources.⁵¹ These resources included those from DJ workshops, break dance jam sessions, and the music industry. It also included career advice, as well as the hosting of regular hip-hop dance parties. Different groups of young people attended the different activities in accordance with their specific hip-hop interests and involvement in particular hip-hop communities. However, avoiding a one size fits all hip-hop-youth work assemblage was dependent upon the abundance of human and non-human actors within the youth trust assemblage, and the ability of these actors to re-assemble with other actors to create other hip-hop assemblages. For instance, the DJ skills of Peter from YTA could be mobilised to respond to demands for dance party events, DJ

⁵¹ Not all youth trusts could offer such a range because they did not have the same range of resources.

workshops, hip-hop music mentoring, or b-boy events. Correspondingly, the absence of specific actors for some trusts, such as music production equipment or mentors, saw them less able to provide a variety of activities in line with interests.

The introduction or absence of certain material actors alters the assemblage (Gomart & Hennion, 1999; Latour, 1991), and in this study resulted in different hip-hop formations. Each hip-hop activity produced in line with a particular interest map consisted of different hip-hop practices and actors configured to fit with young people's specific tastes. For instance, Peter described how he tailored the type of music he played for different groups of young people. Not trying to recruit all young people to the same event, he played mainstream popular forms of hip-hop music for the dance parties YTA ran, which were very different to that supplied for any b-boy events that they were involved with.⁵² Peter shared that:

We will have a younger crowd there [dance party], all at school, and they listen to, maybe a bit more—like we had the shuffling thing that came through, with shuffling we had to play more dance music, like trance and all that sort of thing, even though I don't really play it too much, but it's something that at that time they were all listening to.

Here, the youth worker's interest map shaped the actors he enlisted into the hip-hop assemblage provided for young people. It was by bringing in actors to produce activities that suited the interests of young people that the enrolment of young people in YTA's hip-hop events was achieved and maintained. This shows the utility of interest maps in shaping enrolment efforts (Callon & Law, 1982).

Re-assembling youth trust actors.

In this study it was the interest map formed by the youth trust and its workers that influenced the assemblage they put forward in an effort to create an interest in their resources and activities on the part of particular young people. This is similar to Callon and Law (1982), who traced the interest map by which a group of scientists attempted

⁵² The b-boys/b-girls listened to old school funk and some expressed disdain for popular hip-hop music. The latter does not hold the break beat for them. Popular music also caters to popular dance "fads" which many b-boys/b-girls are not interested in.

to configure a paper to interest a specific journal's referees in publishing it. In addition to reconfiguring hip-hop assemblages, responding to young people's diverse hip-hop interests was achieved by the re-arrangement of existing actors within the youth trust assemblage. This was dependent upon the flexibility of the non-human actors enrolled in the youth trust assemblage. Youth trusts readily followed young people's interests by rearranging how the resources they had were used, letting diverse groups enact separate hip-hop activities. Those with youth venues enacted a few different forms of hip-hop activity by letting young people share a space at different times and by rearranging its material actors.

A youth-led approach (Hill, Davis, Prout, Tisdall, 2004; Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005), was put into practice by many of the youth trusts, with youth workers helping young people set up their space to suit their requirements. The youth workers asked them where they wanted things and what things they needed. This resulted in different formations for each hip-hop activity. For instance, at YTE, couches were re-arranged into a square formation for cyphering rappers, while they were pushed back to line walls for b-boys. Actors were brought out or put away accordingly. Speakers, microphones and DJ equipment (CDJ's) were set up for MC cypher sessions. Young people were heavily involved in these reconfiguration processes, highlighting their participation in the production of hip-hop youth work activities. However, it was not a purely human affair: these diverse assemblages were also afforded by the flexibility of the non-human actors themselves.

ANT follows how the investment in non-human actors adds durability to a network (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1991). The investment in resources by youth trusts in following youth interests for the enactment of hip-hop activities helped to ensure the durability of the connection built with young people within the youth work assemblage. For instance, efforts were made across organisations to improve their flooring for b-boys once they became aware of the b-boys' needs. Youth trusts also invested in creating spaces for hip-hop. Some of the churches had invested in building dance studio spaces, while YTE focused on collaborating with young people to produce a music production studio space within their headquarters. By extending the youth work web of associations in this way, youth organisations made the ties between themselves and the young people they were

working with more durable, as they continued to motivate and maintain their enrolment. An improvement in the quality of their hip-hop provision, in turn, improved their chances of enrolling more young people (this is discussed further in Chapter Four).

The efforts by youth trusts and youth workers to follow youth interest maps required adopting what can be described as an open and non-judgmental attitude to youth culture.⁵³ Interestingly, youth workers who did not share a passion for hip-hop culture were open to learning what hip-hop could offer, and consequently supported hip-hop activities. For example, youth workers at one youth trust all had a personal interest and DJ skill base in electronic dance music,⁵⁴ yet they became involved in the production of hip-hop activities. Here, the technological actors within the youth trust assemblage facilitated the support of a different youth culture activity.

This youth trust was able to mobilise the DJ equipment originally enlisted to support its electronic dance activities to support b-boy events. The DJ equipment could be used differently, and was mobilised to play different music and to produce the break beats that the b-boys required. Similarly, youth workers who had developed a preference for a particular hip-hop element also supported young people's interests in different hip-hop elements. For instance, Mark offered support to young people wishing to run a krumping event even though he had developed a personal preference for the b-boy dance style and culture. This flexibility of youth workers to accept young people's diverse cultures resulted in them being open to learning from young people themselves about hip-hop culture and in them supporting their hip-hop activities.

The youth workers' openness and flexibility in supporting what young people were doing, or were interested in doing, has been acknowledged as a critical component of youth work (Davies, 2005; Rimmer, 2012). In this study it was a central component of earning young people's trust and respect. Young people can unintentionally play an

⁵³ Openness to learning from youth about their youth culture interests, and enlisting youth culture practices into youth activities, has been noted as forming an important part of relationship building in youth work (Hirsh, 2005; Martin & Martin, 2012; McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994). However, this is discussed in ways that privilege human relationships.

⁵⁴ Electronic dance music (EDM) includes the subgenres of house, techno, trance, hardstyle, UK garage, drum & bass, dubstep, progressive, electro, trap and hardcore. It is associated with dance party scenes and culture separate from that practiced in the hip-hop community.

important role in shaping the youth work-hip-hop network; when a youth worker wished to engage a particular group of young people, this desire influenced their subsequent collaborations with other actors.

Youth workers were able to situate their youth work world as one that young people wanted to enter by ascertaining what young people needed in order to practice their hip-hop element and helping young people access these actors. For instance, YTE and YTA enrolled musical tracks from the 1970s and 1980s into the youth trust's collection of music. This helped assemble a space for b-boys to jam. They also helped the b-boys run events by connecting them up with the human and non-human actors they needed, such as a DJ able to play break beats, a PA system, and fliers.

It was these material actors provided by the youth trust that attracted young people wishing to run their own hip-hop activities. For example, despite currently practicing at youth trusts that had youth workers who were a part of the local hip-hop community, b-boy John explained that this was not a requirement for them to utilise a youth trusts' space:

I used to practice at this place—it was a church. Whoever was there opened the door and doesn't know whatever what we are doing, but you just like the music and it's nothing to do with understanding or that, but they are open enough to help you.

A youth trust assemblage therefore did not always require a youth worker with hip-hop expertise in order to attract hip-hop artists like John to enrol a youth trust venue into their hip-hop assemblage.

In addition, as will be seen in Chapters Four, Five, and Seven, the young people who became enrolled in hip-hop-youth work assemblages were flexible in their hip-hop activity requirements, making numerous compromises to their "ideal" hip-hop activity assemblage. Young people's hip-hop interests were often translated in youth work networks in ways that compromised their preferences in some way. This is partly due to the tensions inherent in balancing the diverse interests of groups using a youth trust's space with only limited resources at hand.

The pressure to meet a variety of competing interests meant that the provision of resources for a hip-hop activity was not always ideal. For example, one youth trust, made the decision to place Perspex sheeting to act as mirrors in a room in their youth centre so that it could be used for both hip-hop dance activities, as well as sporting activities such as basketball. Unlike dance studio mirrors, the Perspex distorted bodies (see Figure 3.1). However, mirrors can be easily damaged and are thus incompatible with the sporting activities, such as basketball and skateboarding that also took place in the room. Perspex, on the other hand is more durable, and can withstand the rough treatment of the sports, while still providing a reflective surface that enables dance moves to be seen. An urban dance crew and a b-boy crew could still use the space to practice their moves, to gain feedback on their style, and practice synchronisation as a crew. However, as one b-boy explained, the Perspex was still not ideal— they much preferred to practice in dance studio spaces that had mirrors where they could see themselves clearly.

Through accepting compromises for a given hip-hop assemblage, youth trust managers discussed how they balanced the needs of different groups within their community whom they could then supply with a space and resources. Many youth trusts leased venues and invested in resources while maintaining this mutability in mind. Here we see how the coming together of multiple interest maps influenced decision making in youth work worlds.



Figure 3.1. A youth centre space designed to allow diverse activities to take place. Perspex mirrors allow this mutability, as does wooden seating that can be moved to the side by dancers and then mobilized by skateboarders as skateboarding ramps.

For a network to establish and maintain connections between its various actors negotiations have to take place (Callon, 1986b; Mol, 2010; Winance, 2006). This is vital if tensions between the goods or values sought by different actors are to be handled (Mol, 2010). Maintaining the enrolment of other actors within the youth trust assemblage sometimes resulted in the editing of young people's preferred hip-hop assemblages within the youth work network. Young people were not always allowed to enlist their preferred hip-hop artefacts or to enact certain hip-hop practices. In enrolling a youth trust into their hip-hop programme of action, young people therefore often prioritised one set of hip-hop goods over another. Chapter Five discusses how the youth work network had to attune itself to several of the actors within its network. Here, the

interests of other actors within the youth work networks overrode young people's hip-hop preferences. Tensions between the values of following youth interests and other goods, such as funding and youth development concerns, were evident. These arose from actors within the youth work network attempting to avoid the enactment of hip-hop bads.

Another example of tensions between different hip-hop goods was apparent when youth workers tried to broaden young people's hip-hop interests. This was seen, for example, when a youth worker/b-boy tried to enrol young people into engaging fully in his b-boy activities rather than the commercial forms of hip-hop they were currently enrolled within. When I observed these young people in the b-boy workshops that the youth worker ran it seemed that their partial enrolment had been achieved. A battle was seen where young people tried to play the latest commercial hip-hop music, while the youth worker tried to expose them to classic b-boy tracks. Rather than impose his hip-hop preference on young people, this worker engaged in negotiations with young people and the actors that they were attached to. In the end, the youth worker attuned the b-boy activity to that of the young people's hip-hop interests by playing their music periodically in between his own collection of b-boy tracks.⁵⁵ Thus, even in the process of creating a new hip-hop interest, this youth worker still relied on his knowledge of the young people's current hip-hop interests. Here both young people and youth workers had input in determining the music that was played. These actions were enabled by the presence of the youth worker's i-pod that contained both commercial hip-hop tracks as well as b-boy music that could be shuffled. These examples showcase the ANT notion of interests as "negotiated and transformed in interaction" (Whittle, Suhomlinova, & Mueller, 2010, p. 33).

⁵⁵ Fogarty (2010) found these forms of musical exchange to be a central part of how taste in breaking music is acquired. She draws on Hennion (2007) to argue that taste is an activity, and b-boy workshops are one such place where new tastes can be acquired. As such, taste is not understood as a fixed attribute of a young person.

Assembling different versions of hip-hop dance.

Having different forms of hip-hop co-existing both within and across different youth trusts allowed a range of young people to participate in youth work-hip-hop activities. In the following example I trace how the production of different versions of hip-hop dance resulted in the enlistment of both male and female participants, to explore the ways hip-hop, when understood as multiple, can be deemed both inclusive and non-inclusive due to the appeal of different hip-hop activities to different groups of young people. This is explored by following how youth workers responded to the differences they discerned in the dance activities preferred by male and female youth. I follow how interest maps informed the dance assemblages configured by these youth workers. This results in the further unpacking of the role of interest maps in youth work decision-making.

A common controversy surrounding hip-hop is the lack of women in hip-hop culture production (Gibson, 2003). Hip-hop has been described as a masculine and misogynistic culture that marginalises women within its four elements (Mitchell, 2003). In youth work contexts, gendered disparities in participation in hip-hop activities have been found and framed as problematic. Baker and Cohen (2008), from a study of music-based activities in community-based organisations in Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, found young women were absent or commonly took up supporter and/or “girlfriend” roles. Baker and Cohen (2008) trace the efforts made by some of these organisations to encourage female participation, and note that offering girl-only spaces and female mentors were not solutions on their own. These authors identify a need for work with young women and men that interrogates gendered attitudes, so to challenge constraining stereotypes and gender norms prevalent in these activities.

A similar participation divide to that found by Baker and Cohen (2008) was evident in the Christchurch hip-hop scene and sites of youth work-hip-hop activity. Far fewer girls performed b-girling, preferring audience and supporter roles. Moreover, a female presence was entirely lacking in the MC cypher sessions, where the battles only saw the odd female supporter. However, in hip-hop urban dance these roles were reversed. Unlike in some other cities in New Zealand, where male participation in hip-hop urban dance was commonplace, Christchurch was seeing less participation on the part of

young men.⁵⁶ A common scenario observed in this study of youth work worlds was for more young women to be involved in urban dance activities, and for more young men to take up b-boying.

The activities provided depended on the resources the youth trust had at their disposal, as well as whether young people approached them to run a youth-driven activity. For those providing youth driven activities, such as the MC cypher sessions or b-boy jam spaces, the activities supported at the time of the study catered to male preferences, as the youth worker had been approached by a male crew or group of friends to run their hip-hop activities in conjunction with the youth trust. Similarly, youth workers who wished to use their own hip-hop skills to mentor young people in a hip-hop activity established activities based on their skills.

These youth workers, as well as those providing hip-hop crews with resources to put in place their own hip-hop activities, did not express concern over the resulting gender imbalances in particular hip-hop activities. Following youth interests together with the goal of voluntary participation led to limited interestment efforts to gain young people's involvement in activities they did not have an immediate interest in on the part of youth workers.⁵⁷ Rather than focusing on changing youth interests, they relied upon providing a variety of activities in which young men and women could find something to engage with within the youth work world, and thus receive youth development support. For instance, at YTD, gendered dance participation was not considered problematic, because their dance studio spaces hosted urban hip-hop dance classes as well as b-boy workshops, through which they provided opportunities for both male and female youth to engage in hip-hop dance activity.

In this study, youth trusts clearly refined their interest maps and reconfigured their resources to provide a variety of activities for both young men and women. These efforts appeared successful, as the girls were able to partake in an equal use of the youth-based

⁵⁶ The North Island has more male crews than Christchurch. Youth work activities have successfully taken place for young men based on hip-hop urban dance (Kaiwai, Moewaka Barnes, Taiapa, & McCreanor, 2009).

⁵⁷ Although efforts were made to invite and encourage young people of the opposite gender were observed. Verbal encouragement and attention was given by mentors. In one case, role models of the under-represented gender were employed as instructors or enlisted as demonstration crew members.

organisations resources. This finding differs from experiences of young women found in other studies of young people's use of youth organisations' facilities. These studies found that young men dominated the use of spaces, making it difficult for girls to use a youth venue (Bloustein & Peters, 2011; Hirsh, 2005).

In some cases, local hip-hop gendered participation norms were further supported through the provision of boys or girls only groups. Female youth workers ran urban dance groups with their girls, while Joshua ran breaking workshops with his boys. The formation of these groups was based on the rationale that, with a same sex youth worker, the group created could create a safe space for girls or boys to bond with each other and discuss issues. The successful enrolment of young people in the activities of these groups relied upon the youth workers and youth trust aligning their hip-hop activities with the interests of the group they were working with. In this way the multiplicity of hip-hop dance activities was utilised as a means to create activities in ways that a youth trust could provide youth work support for both female and male youth.

Through an ANT perspective, gender, like any other element of the social, is understood as an effect of a heterogeneous network (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Law & Singleton, 2013; Waltz, 2006). The above examples for instance, show that through the assemblage of hip-hop activities that appealed more to young men or women, these youth work initiatives offered limited challenges to the conventional gender roles enacted in the local hip-hop scene. However, as discussed in Chapters One and Two, social structures such as gender do not guide ANT fieldwork and analysis. Not imposing this lens in my following of the assemblage of hip-hop activities allowed "ethnographic surprises" (Law & Singleton, 2013) to emerge. By following the assemblage of multiple co-existing hip-hop activities, this study provides an alternative view to the perspective that young women are marginalised from participating within hip-hop assemblages. Furthermore, through following the configuration of hip-hop-youth work dance practices, it also uncovered some of the different ways in which gender was assembled. Many of these youth work dance initiatives could be said to challenge conventional gender roles in the local hip-hop scene.

Gender norms were challenged within the hip-hop-youth work activities that the girls participated in. Williams (2002) suggests that, in “trying on gender”, girls can experiment with gender in ways that resist certain femininities within the boundaries of broader and local gender norms. Hip-hop provides a means for young women to experiment with how they practiced gender. Other studies of female participation in male-dominated youth cultures highlight practices that resist the enactment of common forms of femininity (Kelly, Pomerantz & Currie, 2008; LeBlanc, 1999). In the current study, girls wore clothes in both hip-hop urban dance and b-girling that challenged other versions of femininities (discussed further in the following chapters). They also had the chance to “try on” expressions of “swag” and aggression normally reserved for men (Anderson, 1999). Hip-hop urban dance featured choreography that mirrored masculine expressions of strength and aggression. The b-girls who chose to challenge themselves further by learning b-girling found many opportunities to try on male aggressive practices in the breaking battles.

It also appeared that there was no pressure on young women to mimic their male mentors; instead they were mentored to find their own way of dancing,⁵⁸ and to adapt the moves to their bodies, to add feminine touches, and to do what felt comfortable. This is similar to the skater girls in Kelly, Pomerantz & Currie’s (2008) study, who, by making male skating practices and style their own, were able to “expand the meaning of femininity” (p. 116). The girls in my study who were relatively new to b-girling chose to take out the aggressive posturing in their battles with other dancers. Likewise, female hip-hop urban dance instructors told male dancers in their classes to make any overly feminine moves their own, by adding their own “flavour”. Boys could thus choose to reproduce masculine hip-hop forms of expression (Anderson, 1999). These examples illustrate how hip-hop dance activities were fluid and able to be adapted so to become inclusive of either feminine or masculine forms of expression. The only challenge that remained was recruiting the opposing gender to give the activity a go in the first instance.

⁵⁸ All the b-boys spoken to explained that creativity and personal expression was a vital part of their art-form, and that it thereby made sense to encourage female forms of expression.

The case of gendered hip-hop activities draws attention to the variety of hip-hop interests that exist, and the diversity of youth work-hip-hop assemblages that are used to cater to these imputed interests. I have highlighted how the successful enrolment of young people can take place through aligning youth work activities with the particular hip-hop interests of different groups of young people. As the example of gendered preferences in dance illustrated, if an alignment fails to occur, uptake of activities by a particular group will be limited. Successful enrolment therefore relies upon putting together adequate interest maps of young people's hip-hop interests so to predict the activities that young men and women will engage in. Furthermore, adequate interest maps are required to inform decision-making regarding whether multiple activities are to be provided, and which activities to offer, so not to exclude a particular gender. I have also alluded to the fluidity of the hip-hop assemblages by reference to the different combinations of actors that are provided for different hip-hop activities. This fluidity of hip-hop dance also enables young people to carve out their own versions of hip-hop practices and identities. The following section explores the mutability and multiplicity of hip-hop in more depth by exploring how youth workers continually adjusted their interest maps in order to better support a variety of youth hip-hop interests.

Keeping up with Youth Culture

The multiplicity of hip-hop together with its mutability posed many challenges for a youth trust or youth worker attempting to follow and respond to youth hip-hop interests. In some cases, this meant refining interest maps by learning more about the assemblage of a hip-hop activity to provide a better set of resources for young people. In other cases this meant engaging in efforts to keep up with new hip-hop culture trends for the purpose of attuning youth work assemblages with young people's changing attachments to actors within hip-hop assemblages. In both situations, learning more about a specific version of hip-hop culture activity enabled actors to be assembled within the youth trust that helped both enrol and maintain the enrolment of young people in a hip-hop-youth work assemblage.

Learning more about a version of hip-hop culture.

As mentioned above, youth workers were open to learning from young people themselves about hip-hop culture. This learning practice was important for providing young people with the actors they required to enact their hip-hop activity. Given hip-hop was enacted in different ways across hip-hop elements, as well as within them, youth workers were challenged to gain knowledge of many different hip-hop socio-material arrangements. Even those youth workers who identified themselves as having a hip-hop identity explained that they were not proficient in every element or form of hip-hop.

It became clear that the easiest way to refine an interest map was by gaining knowledge directly from the young people involved about the specific configuration of a hip-hop activity. Without this input, youth workers risked forming inaccurate interest maps, and thus investing youth trust resources in enlisting actors not required, or configuring spaces and activities ill-fit for a particular hip-hop activity. Youth workers often found themselves in positions where they needed to learn about the cultural preferences of a given group. For instance youth worker/DJ Peter had to learn about b-boying:

I know a lot of the [B-boy Crew A] boys feel like if they have any events or anything I am always there if they need a DJ I will always help out, in that sense I will be participating cos I've got to learn the music. So a lot of the time I am sitting here listening to the music they are playing and learning what they like and what kind of music is good for them. Yeah, so I am participating in that sense. Not everyone can get on the floor and break dance. So I don't try to, I just leave it to the experts.

In order to DJ at these young people's events, Peter needed to learn what music they wanted to be played, leaving it up to the young people to define what resources were brought into the youth work-hip-hop assemblage. Once again, the youth worker's ability to be flexible and fine-tune youth culture practices in accordance with an interest map was enabled through his relationship with technical actors. In contrast to Peter's lack of participation on "the floor", Mark, a youth worker with no previous skill in the hip-hop elements, learnt how to b-boy during the b-boys' practices held at his youth trust. Through interacting with b-boys together with the material actors they brought in, as

well as those already present within the youth trust, he learnt about their culture as well as the resources they needed. These examples illustrate how youth workers learnt about young people's specific hip-hop culture needs through direct exposure; by "hanging out" with young people and the human and non-human actors they allied themselves with, listening to young people and positioning them as the experts on their hip-hop needs.

Hanging out could be seen to provide the opportunities for youth workers to gain constant feedback on the interest maps they were forming, and thus refine their conceptions of young people's hip-hop interests. Latour (2004) and Hennion (2007) discuss how tastes, and a knowing body, are acquired through interacting with material actors. In their attempts to configure hip-hop activities of interest to young people, some youth workers gained knowledge by exposing both themselves and young people to a variety of actors and configurations for assembling a hip-hop activity of interest. For instance, before adding songs to a b-boy session playlist, Mark and Peter played the music to b-boys to see if the young people agreed they could dance to it. They also got to experience the effects that can emerge from particular configurations of heterogeneous actors through partaking in the b-boy activity, either in a DJ or b-boy role.⁵⁹ In these ways they built knowledge of the types of music to enlist and how to arrange it in order to allow the b-boys and b-girls to dance.

By testing their interest maps through translation attempts (Callon & Law, 1982) youth workers gained the knowledge required to refine their interest maps. In Callon & Law's (1982) study the scientists failed to interest a journal's referees. This saw the scientists refine their interest map of the journal's interests, which shaped their future course of enrolment actions. Similarly, the youth worker's failures to gain youth interest in a particular actor, or configuration of actors, resulted in the youth worker's interest map becoming more complex.

Sometimes this learning took place within the formal meetings that workers and young people held for planning an event. Holding meetings with young people where workers and young people had equal input constituted an important way for workers to test and review interest maps, and thus to identify needed resources for the event. Within such

⁵⁹ See Fogarty (2010) for a discussion how how b-boy tastes are learnt.

forums at YTE everyone at the meeting could suggest actors, such as sponsors, music, prizes, DJ's, and judges, to be mobilised or enlisted into the network. Young people were, however, given the final say on which actors were to then be enrolled. In this way, youth workers helped young people maintain ownership of their activities and events, and ensured young people could enact hip-hop in the ways they wished it to be done. At times there were surprises where young people would not associate with certain actors. For instance, YTE found in these meetings that b-boys were unwilling to be sponsored by some brands commonly associated with hip-hop (discussed in more depth in Chapter Six). Through testing interest maps, the simplifications inherent in reductionist "maps of interest" are no longer workable and must be replaced by complexity (Callon & Law, 1982, p. 620). When applied to hip-hop, this helped youth workers gain knowledge of its multiplicity, and thus configure activities in ways that align with interests of specific groups of young people. It also provided a way to stay flexible and keep up with changes in youth hip-hop interests.

Keeping up with changes in hip-hop culture.

Youth workers were also faced with the need to keep up with changes in hip-hop in order to both enrol new young people, and to maintain the enrolment of young people invested in hip-hop culture. With some groups this was more essential than others. The activities of groups engaged in hip-hop's foundational elements remained relatively stable across time, although changes in technology and popularity were evident. For instance, despite remaining underground, b-boying experienced a renaissance within Christchurch over the second year of my fieldwork; there was an explosion in b-boy and b-girl numbers and crews. The use of smart-phones and tablets to record and circulate hip-hop performances also emerged at the very end of my fieldwork.⁶⁰ Subtle fashion clothing changes were also observed.

⁶⁰ The cost of smart-phones and tablets at the time of my study did not see these replace the video cameras used by youth trusts and young people to record performances. However, at hip-hop events the odd crew member and family member was seen to substitute their video camera or camera for these devices. The implications for young people and youth workers to more readily share hip-hop material on social media was not followed as part of this study. However, Chapter Four considers the impact the developments in communication technologies at the time of my fieldwork had on the enrolment of young people in hip-hop-youth work assemblages.

However, alongside these more static assemblages, youth workers also tried to meet with young people's interests in hip-hop "fads".⁶¹ During my fieldwork, young people developed interests in "jerking", "shuffling", and the "dougie". These are new dance styles that originated overseas, each having their own music and clothing styles. Latour (1991, 1999b) shows how innovations in technology evolve through substitutions and associations of actors that take place in response to shifts in the configuration of actors in an assemblage. The youth workers in this study needed to substitute and enrol new actors to respond to the shifts in youth culture that they detected. For instance, in the case of these new dance cultures, youth workers were seen to change their choreography, clothing choices for performance crews, and music for dance activities and events. Youth workers, enabled through the enrolment of new actors such as music and clothing, allowed young people to practice and battle in these new dance styles even at b-boy workshops and events.

The inclusion of new actors, and the exclusion or modification of old actors that constitute a hip-hop fad, requires the youth trust network to reconfigure its hip-hop assemblages. Martin (2002) suggests that the constant change in what is popular amongst youth poses a challenge to the youth worker who may invest time in learning about a youth culture only to discover that by the time they have planned their activities the young people have moved on. However, this scenario did not play out in the current study. The youth workers' interest maps were refined in time with current hip-hop trends through their involvement in the hip-hop webs of relations.

As mentioned, youth workers followed young people's interests and webs of relations by spending time with young people engaged in hip-hop activity. This meant they were exposed to shifts in actors that young people were attached to as part of their hip-hop culture enactments. For some youth workers this involvement in the hip-hop community occurred outside their youth work activities. Some were lucky in that their own involvement in hip-hop worlds saw them able to stay abreast of certain hip-hop

⁶¹ These were often deemed to be popular culture "fads". Although some workers chose not to disregard the value of these new hip-hop art forms, with the knowledge that some in the past such as "krumping" had defied a fad status. Other youth workers simply accepted that some were simply trends that would come and go as part of popular youth culture, but saw no harm in supporting such ephemeral interests.

developments. For instance, Peter, who also had a job as a commercial hip-hop DJ working in radio as well as clubs, noted the benefits of this dual position.

P: Like for me personally, the kind of music I like to play and I like to do is usually now, whatever's happening, whatever people want to listen to. And that is usually what young people are listening to, so it kind of works for me. . . yeah, we are pretty lucky we are up on what's new.

E: How do you keep on top of things?

P: You see, a lot of the stuff comes through the music, you'll see in the video there is a little bit of dancing, yeah. And the music that they are dancing to might have elements of like the way that that particular kind of dance [step], you kind of learn that, especially as a DJ you learn kind of what's hot and what's not. What you don't play and what you do play.

E: so you could take those skills from DJing and sort of—

P: Yeah, yeah. So I can definitely infuse that into what I do here. I use it too—like young people will come in and they'll give me a CD with what they are listening to, and I'll have a listen, and be like 'oh yeah', kinda get the [style]. So it helps me too. Because I'm old,⁶² I'm not as young as a lot of these guys, to get to learn what's hot and what's not, it is really cool.

Here age was not a barrier in keeping up with young people's music and dance tastes. Peter was not dependent on solely learning from young people about what was popular, his work in both hip-hop and youth work worlds, informed his practices in both.

Peter does, however, highlight a potential barrier to staying current with youth culture. New Zealand youth work proponents Martin and Martin (2012) warn that keeping up with youth culture is harder to execute as one gets older and is no longer naturally a part of youth culture. Similarly, Isaac, the South Island co-ordinator of 24-7 YouthWork, used this same logic to explain that the young age of many of their workers was a "strength", as "they understand the young people they are engaging with at their level". Like the hip-hop artist-youth worker, through their own involvement in webs of youth culture relations, which included those of hip-hop fads, these workers did not have to invest in additional work in following shifts in hip-hop tastes. Being already positioned

⁶² Peter was in his early thirties.

within webs of relations that enacted current sets of youth culture practices, many gained awareness of how to enact diverse trends. These young workers could often learn about the details of particular hip-hop cultures, and thus constantly refine their interest maps through their contact with socio-material configurations both outside of and within their youth work.

As Peter noted, being young was not the only asset youth workers had for obtaining the knowledge required to align youth work hip-hop arrangements with young people's interests. ANT writers have highlighted how an actor gains new abilities as new alliances are forged. ANT scholars are particularly interested in the co-performance of human and non-humans (Moser & Law, 1999; Winance, 2006). A youth worker's capacity to keep up with youth culture was also enhanced through building alliances with technological actors. For instance, Aroha enlisted YouTube to learn the intricacies of the latest dance styles to incorporate into her choreography and dance classes. Similarly, Peter watched hip-hop music videos to build knowledge of new hip-hop dance trends and the music that accompanied them. This guided his selection of new music for his DJ set at YTA's hip-hop dance parties. Media resources were inscriptions (Latour, 1987; Law, 1986) that circulated hip-hop knowledge and culture. This circulation would inform youth workers regarding the configuration of hip-hop activities that would be of current interest to the young people that they worked with. Youth workers could refine their interest maps to align with present hip-hop realities practiced by some of their young people in ways similar to how young people themselves kept up with the latest trends in youth culture.

However, enlisting technologies alone were not always enough to gain understandings of the socio-material configuration of a new hip-hop trend. Gaining knowledge via different forms of media was not always possible without a certain amount of foundational knowledge. Aroha described how, in one case, she could not find a new dance style she had heard young people talking about:

I don't even fully know what it is, and I looked it up on the Internet and I can't find it. I don't even know how to spell it—TUTONIC, but when I look it up nothing comes up with that.

Aroha noted how her lack of frontline access with teens in school resulted in a lack of exposure to this dance form. Her exposure to young people's hip-hop practices as part of her contact time with youth could not be replaced by her substitution of social media technologies. This example further highlights how in some cases refining interest maps was reliant on a youth worker's access to young people in the contexts where they engaged in hip-hop practices. Youth workers' relationships with young people, together with their own engagement in hip-hop culture and its media technologies, therefore constituted an important node in the network concerned with ascertaining what hip-hop opportunities young people wanted available in their communities. It also informed the practices and resources they incorporated into their youth work assemblages.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced how hip-hop is translated into youth work activities as part of the youth work practice of following youth interests. Although hip-hop is translated into youth work worlds to serve a variety of youth work goals, the appropriation of hip-hop by youth work worlds is contingent upon youth workers imputing hip-hop as an interest of the young people they wish to support. This chapter has explored this foundation for youth workers incorporation of hip-hop into their work. In utilising Callon and Law's (1982) concept of interest maps, the methods through which youth workers attempted to gauge accurate conceptions of youth interests to shape their youth work activities and resources was explored. This chapter provided snapshots of the prediction work that informed youth worker decision-making in regards to what hip-hop activities and actors (if any) to enrol into their youth work world.

I have also drawn attention to the "slippery" nature of hip-hop interests. There are many versions of hip-hop that young people may be interested in. Each form of hip-hop is fluid in its own right, and changes over time. Dealing with an unstable and multiple entity consisting of different sets of socio-material practices makes the task of predicting how best to enact hip-hop within a youth work network quite tricky. One cannot assume that because a young person is invested in hip-hop that they will want to engage in any hip-hop activity provided within the youth work network. Young people's hip-hop interests

can be both multiple and mutable; youth workers hip-hop youth work assemblages must also be if they are to enrol a diversity of young people.

It could be said that youth workers are trying to predict the unpredictable at times. This chapter has explored how the complexity and inherent challenge in gauging hip-hop interests is overcome through engaging young people as collaborators. Youth work strategies of translation whereby young people are enrolled into positions of active participation were revealed. As other studies of youth community organisations have found (Bloustein & Peters, 2011; McGachie and Smith, 2003; Rimmer 2012), working in collaboration with young people, enables activities to be configured that are relevant to the young people involved. Young people formed essential parts of the socio-material assemblages that allowed youth workers to keep up with shifting youth interests. Through gaining this knowledge, youth workers could continually refine the configuration of the hip-hop-youth work activities. This chapter thereby confirms that youth culture constitutes an unstable element of youth worlds, and hence of youth work worlds. However, rather than these changes being considered problematic, they are instead accepted as a standard part of a youth work assemblage that embraces its own mutability.

Callon and Law 's (1982) notion of an interest map enables the tracing of this instability, as it encourages analysis of how youth workers adapt their activities as they gain more in-depth knowledge of young people's hip-hop interests and needs. Through tracing how youth workers put in place hip-hop activities by following youth interests, this chapter revealed that implementation involves continuing efforts to attune configurations of actors to young people's interests. As such, the particular young people a youth trust was attempting to enrol can be seen to shape a youth trust's choices in the other actors it was to build alliances with. The young people's attachments to particular human and non-human actors to achieve certain hip-hop aims informed youth workers choices as to which actors to mobilise or enrol into the assemblage. Young people thus play an active role in co-producing hip-hop within youth work worlds. They have a direct impact on how activities are conducted within youth work worlds, shaping the form hip-hop takes, and whether it is enacted at all within the youth work world. This occurs through youth workers opting for flexible, needs-directed and youth-driven approaches. Such an

understanding of young people's role in influencing decision-making processes sits with the translation model within ANT. This model views power as the "effect" of a particular assemblage of actors (Latour, 1986a; Law, 1986, 1991). When agency is distributed, power cannot be understood as being held by one party, and thus withheld from others. Power is not given to young people by employing youth driven processes, but is co-produced through assemblages that rely on young people's presence for their successful enactment.

It must also be remembered, however, that networks emerge through the collective work of actors. This thesis acknowledges that hip-hop activities are determined by wider webs of relations. These webs of relations include not only those that young people themselves are produced in and through, but also include the other actors that work together in the enactment of hip-hop in youth work. This chapter has already shown how youth workers' involvement in various hip-hop webs of relations influenced the actors they enlisted in efforts to keep up with changes in hip-hop culture, and, in some cases, to also translate youth hip-hop interests into those that resembled their own. As this thesis will show, funders, the youth trusts, and the youth workers themselves play important roles in defining the nature of a hip-hop activity enactment.

This chapter also reveals how hip-hop is translated into the youth work world as an engagement tool. Youth workers relied upon hip-hop's diversity and broad appeal as a means of engaging a range of young people. Following and responding to young people's interests alone does not guarantee enrolment, however. Hip-hop's appropriation into youth work worlds is also contingent upon young people taking up the opportunities provided by youth work worlds for hip-hop support. This will be explored in the following chapter, which addresses how it is that an interest is generated on behalf of young people to practice hip-hop within youth work worlds. That is, how do young people "allow" themselves to be enrolled into a youth trust/youth worker relationship to enact their hip-hop activities?

Chapter Four: Enrolling Youth in Hip-hop Activities

Introduction

Providing activities and socio-material actors that align with young people's hip-hop interests does not guarantee young people will attend the activities or utilise the resources offered. In this chapter I draw on the ANT concept of translation to further examine how connections are made between young people and hip-hop-youth work networks. Chapter Three revealed that the mobilisation and enrolment of young people into youth work worlds was enabled by the alignment of youth work activities and socio-material actors with young people's hip-hop interests. This chapter builds on this analysis of youth work engagement practices by considering the additional *interessement* work (Callon, 1986b) required to generate an interest on the part of young people to practice hip-hop within a youth work world.

As indicated in Chapter One, mapping translation operations involves tracing how connections between actors in a network are formed (Callon, 1986a). ANT's translation model (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1991) therefore offers a lens through which to follow youth workers' efforts in stimulating young people's voluntary participation in hip-hop activities.

In this chapter, I draw on Latour's (1991) concepts of programme and anti-programme to examine how this *interessement* work takes place. I map the assemblage of anti-anti-programmes that countered the anti-programmes that prevented young people from becoming enrolled in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action. Anti-programmes can be seen in the resistance or indifference to the youth work-hip-hop programme of action under consideration. In this study, anti-programmes included obstacles such as young people's lack of awareness of activities and resources on offer, and/or young people's lack of money to access these resources. The mapping process revealed a number of anti-programmes that prevented young people from enrolling hip-hop- youth work actors and/or activities into their own programmes of action. As mentioned in Chapter One, the formation of anti-anti-programmes occurs in response to these barriers. Anti-

anti-programmes can be traced to determine the actors that tie another actor into a particular programme of action (Latour, 1991). In this chapter I continue to trace how young people were integrated into the youth work network, by following the formation of some of these anti-anti-programmes. In doing so, I unpack the assemblages of heterogeneous actors within the anti-anti-programmes that worked to enrol young people in youth work-hip-hop programmes of action.

Enrolment as Socio-Material

The term “programme of action” is used by Latour (1991, 1999b) to refer to the goal-directed behaviour of human and non-human actors alike. Latour suggests that the programmes of some actors may appear as anti-programmes from the perspective of another actor. He draws attention to the idea that for their programme of action to be fulfilled, some actors require other actors to comply with a particular path of action (Latour, 1991). Anti-programmes therefore have the potential to “dismantle or ignore the association under consideration” (Latour, 1999b, pp. 159-160). Thus, in order to get young people in a position whereby they allow themselves to be enrolled in youth work-hip-hop worlds and/or seek to enrol youth work world actors into their hip-hop assemblages, anti-programmes must be overcome (Akrich & Latour, 1992; Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1991, 1999b).

In order for actors to join the web of associations or programme of action under construction, anti-programmes have to be countered. This is achieved through the creation of anti-anti-programmes (Latour, 1991, p. 105). Given this conceptualisation, I used the mapping process to trace both anti-programmes and their anti-anti-programmes. This form of ANT analysis traces the uptake and development of innovations through mapping these new associations, in particular, the additions and substitutions of entities required for an actor “to move from the anti-programme to the programme” (Latour, 1999b, p. 160; Latour, 1991; Latour, Mauguin, Teil, 1992).

In this chapter, I follow youth workers efforts to figure out “what holds with what, who holds with whom, what holds with whom, who holds with what” (Latour, 1999b, p. 164),

in their attempts to enrol young people into a hip-hop-youth work programme of action. However, overcoming anti-programmes and enrolling young people into a hip-hop-youth work programme of action cannot be attributed solely to the work of youth workers. As Latour's (1991) hotel key example illustrates, in overcoming anti-programmes people do not work alone; the establishment of what appear to be social ties in fact implicates many non-human actors. Central to this understanding is the symmetrical treatment of humans and non-humans, and not making a priori assumptions about who is doing the work. Therefore, in describing youth work "work", this chapter goes beyond simply examining the actions of youth workers. A focus on how young people's enrolment occurs through processes of translation provides an alternative lens through which to look at how youth are engaged in hip-hop-youth work activities.

As discussed in Chapter One, hip-hop can assist in engaging youth in a range of programmes in residential and community settings (see for example Alvarez, 2012; DeCarlo & Hockman, 2003; Leafloor, 2012; Tillie Allen, 2005; Tyson, 2002; Tyson, 2003). These accounts tend to privilege the actions of practitioners and young people (Alvarez, 2012; DeCarlo & Hockman, 2003; Leafloor, 2012; Tillie Allen, 2005; Tyson, 2002, 2003). Missing from these accounts is the contribution of the many socio-material actors within a given hip-hop-engagement assemblage in facilitating a connection between young people and therapeutic activities, as well as between young people and practitioners themselves.

Within these therapeutic accounts of uses of hip-hop in work with youth, young people's presence within their activities is largely taken for granted, since young people are often mandated to attend (Alvarez, 2012; DeCarlo & Hockman, 2003; Leafloor, 2012; Tillie Allen, 2005; Tyson, 2002, 2003). Consequently, although these studies document voluntary participation taking place within the activity itself, they do not address how the initial engagement in hip-hop activities in youth work worlds is achieved through specific socio-material arrangements.

Studies that have explored factors that impact on youth voluntary participation in youth programmes, have documented that what may motivate or constrain the participation of

one group of young people, may not necessarily affect another group. These studies have identified differences in terms of gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic groups (see Baker & Cohen, 2008; Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1990; Duffett & Johnson, 2004; Perkins et al., 2007). For example, in a United States study, Duffett and Johnson (2004) noted that activity fees limited the participation of young people from low income and ethnic minority groups but not others. ANT influenced research can expand such studies to provide a way to explore the highly local and contingent nature of relationships (Latour, 1991). For instance, the model of translation raises questions as to why some young people are more readily enrolled into particular youth work networks than other young people. Moreover, the model of translation reveals the non-universality of anti-programmes, through recognition of the addition and/or the substitution of socio-material actors in the network required for the enrolment of young people.

The descriptions that follow in this chapter focus on the actors and activities involved in countering particular anti-programmes as a means to engage young people and encourage them to join a hip-hop-youth work network and maintain their integration within it. I follow the fluid strategies and shifts in actors involved in working out successful enlistment strategies. I describe the programmes of action that were implemented to overcome these anti-programmes to help hip-hop-youth work innovations gain more reality (Latour, 1991). Thus, I present three sets of socio-material practices that constituted important elements of anti-anti-programmes.

Firstly, I describe the socio-material practices that contributed to the production of a youth worker's hip-hop identity and reputation. The formation of these identity assemblages were an important part of some anti-anti-programmes that aimed to establish trust and interest on the part of young people in the worker and their hip-hop activities. Secondly, I provide a discussion snapshot of the socio-material configurations of youth trust spaces that aided youth enrolment. The actors that made up a youth space often contributed to young people enlisting a youth trust into their hip-hop programme of action. However, sometimes these actors provided anti-programmes that needed to be overcome in order for this to happen. The final socio-material practice unpacked is the circulation of information about the support on offer for hip-hop activities. These

sets of practices were important for countering the anti-programme of lack of awareness on the part of young people. They were also vital for establishing a youth trust's reputation as a provider of hip-hop resources and activities that aligned with young people's needs and standards.

Assembling and Mobilising a Hip-Hop Identity

Young people's distrust of adults was an anti-programme youth workers in this research study commonly encountered. These youth workers talked about having to overcome distrust before young people could be enrolled in hip-hop activities. The anti-programme of distrust is not unique to the hip-hop-youth work context, and has been acknowledged in the general youth work literature (see Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Bockern, 2002; Martin & Martin, 2012; Rodd & Stewart, 2009; Wood & Hine, 2009). More specifically, within youth arts-based activities it has been shown that trust in a worker's skills also has to be earned if the worker is to be enrolled by young people as a mentor (Bloustien & Peters, 2011). The establishment of trust requires accruing status within a particular sub-culture community (Bloustien & Peters, 2011). In the current study, key to gaining the trust of young people was the establishment of a worker's hip-hop reputation. Youth workers noted that gaining the status of hip-hop artist with young people was especially important if a worker wished to enrol young people into a hip-hop activity that they were running. For instance, Isaac, 24-7 YouthWork co-ordinator, made the following observation on how youth worker/hip-hop instructors inspired young people to learn hip-hop dance from them by first performing with a crew in the school assembly:

Because these kids are watching music videos and they see a high quality of dance and so when you put on a performance—because you've got to gain their mana first—you don't just say 'let's do hip-hop', you've got to perform to them, and they will look at you and judge you and go 'yes, I will now integrate and I will now want to be trained by you'.

Though the value of having shared interests, including an understanding of youth culture, has been noted as aiding engagement work (Grossman & Bulle, 2006, p. 795;

Hirsch, 2005), the role played by a worker's hip-hop identity and reputation has been left largely unexplored in the literature. Hip-hop therapy practitioners and hip-hop development workers while familiar with hip-hop music,⁶³ are not often hip-hop artists (Elligan, 2004; Hicks Harper, Rhodes, Thomas, Leary, Quinton, 2007; Tyson, 2003). Consequently, these studies do not explore the impact that a practitioner's hip-hop identity has on engaging young people within hip-hop therapy. Furthermore, while the ease with which youth hip-hop mentors can connect with young people has been noted as arising from the possession of hip-hop authenticity (Leafloor, 2012), how this is assembled has not been documented.

How belonging and status are achieved within sub-cultures has long been an interest of youth culture researchers. The concepts of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and sub-cultural capital (Thornton, 1995) have been used to consider how an individual's membership and status within a group is achieved. Bloustien and Peters (2011) draw on the concept of cultural capital to explain the means by which young people can acquire the status of mentor in diverse music worlds. They found that a mentor acquires their status and respect, and became seen as inspirational figures for aspiring artists, by demonstrating the possession of the knowledge, skills and material items that were valued highly in the sub-culture of interest. Bloustien and Peters (2011) reference Thornton's work on sub-cultural capital to note that failure to demonstrate this may result in a person being labelled a "loser" or "try-hard" (p. 85). As, Thornton (1995, p. 12) explains, "Nothing depletes capital more than the sight of someone trying too hard". Likewise, in my study of hip-hop-youth work worlds, being labelled by young people as a try-hard constituted an anti-programme for establishing young people's trust in a worker and/or an interest in attending a hip-hop activity within a youth work world. A critical factor in being labelled in this way and enacting this anti-programme, was a worker's "inappropriate" association with particular socio-material actors.

⁶³ They advocate using hip-hop in youth work and therapeutic work as a method for gaining cultural competence. As such practitioners can be unfamiliar with hip-hop music, but to use it in their work, they must invest in gaining familiarity, as success relies on expressing authentic appreciation of the music and culture (Hicks Harper, Rhodes, Thomas, Leary, Quinton, 2007; Tyson, 2003)

Establishing a hip-hop reputation.

The hip-hop identities and reputations of hip-hop-artist-youth workers were assembled through the coming together of a variety of heterogeneous actors. I trace the role that non-humans played in assembling and circulating a hip-hop reputation (Latour, 1999b). This involves mapping some of the collective work that went into producing these identities that overcame some young people's lack of interest in connecting with a youth worker and/or attending their hip-hop activities.

Many youth workers in this study performed hip-hop identities and skills prior to becoming involved in hip-hop youth work worlds. Youth workers credited their hip-hop identity as motivating young people to engage with them. Graffiti artist/youth worker Shane, described his experiences at an intermediate school:

Going into a class it would be like 'hey Shane grab a seat', and you know like doing their quizzes with them and helping them with their spelling—even though I'm not real good at it, ⁶⁴ you know, I'm cool, and that all comes from being a graffiti artist, they are like 'you're that graffiti artist' and I'm like 'oh, yeah' and instantly they are like 'oh, he's cool'.

Similarly, youth worker/DJ Peter described how having established a hip-hop reputation through involvement in the local hip-hop radio station helped him and his youth work colleague Joseph engage with young people:

Yeah, cos Joseph works on the radio he has a lot of good networks too. We do know a lot of people who are quite influential in the whole New Zealand hip-hop scene, and yeah that really really helps with working with young people that don't really know us. It kind of helps us with me and Joseph's job, the funny thing with youth working is that you need to get young people's respect and that. For those kinds of things you get a lot of respect right off the bat. People don't even have to speak to you or anything, they just know of you, or through someone. So that really helps . . . built some trust, built a bit of a connection, you can make a quick connection. And it is hard to make connections; especially with young

⁶⁴ He is dyslexic.

people and that they don't want to talk to people, got the whole attitude. So it helps.

These examples highlight the importance of establishing young people's knowledge of a youth worker's reputation within hip-hop worlds. Such reputations were co-produced with the enactment of a hip-hop identity. A good hip-hop reputation provided a foundation of respect and trust for the young person. Moreover, on account of these reputations, these hip-hop artist-youth workers were considered as "cool" to associate with by young people. The use of a hip-hop identity to overcome distrust shows how the enrolment of actors is dependent on countering anti-programmes through the formation of anti-anti-programmes (Latour, 1991). In this case, assembling a hip-hop identity and reputation constituted an important anti-anti-programme to overcome the anti-programme of lack of trust that inhibited youth enrolment in relationships with youth workers.

Latour (1991, 1999b) argues that an actor is defined by the "associations" of actors of which it is a part. The characteristics of a given entity are understood to emerge through their involvement in particular associations of actors or webs of relations (Latour, 1991, 1999b; Law & Mol, 2008; Law & Singleton, 2013). A youth worker's hip-hop status was therefore reliant on their ties with both human and non-human actors. The configurations of actors that resulted in the performance of a hip-hop identity were assembled within a worker's youth work practice. However these performances were often preceded and/or supplemented by hip-hop assemblages the youth worker was associated with outside of their youth work hours. It was through their performances of hip-hop outside of their youth work hours, such as in hip-hop competitions and performances, that youth workers established a hip-hop reputation. Furthermore, the circulation of these hip-hop identity assemblages often occurred with the assistance of technological actors such as radio, YouTube, and social media. In this way, youth work engagement work is shown to extend beyond conventional sites of youth work practice, and to include many non-human and human mediators.

The establishment and circulation of a hip-hop identity outside of youth work sites of practice was evident with Peter and Joseph's DJ work on a local hip-hop radio station.

Here they could display their skills, as well as their connections with high profile hip-hop actors. Peter was approached by young people at the youth centre to produce a mix tape or to DJ at a gig. In addition, some enrolled him as a youth work mentor on their career journey into the hip-hop music industry. This example illustrates the influence of a hip-hop identity in motivating young people to go out of their way to visit the youth centre to make contact with Peter. Similarly, de Roeper and Savelsberg (2009) found that young people were drawn to select the tutor they wished to work with in a youth arts programme based on the tutor's skills in a culturally relevant activity. The radio shows and radio promotion assemblages circulated Peter and Joseph's reputations as hip-hop artists by showcasing their knowledge and skills and connections to other hip-hop actors within the music industry. Using the ANT lens, we can see that, through association with the other non-human and human actors within the radio station web of relations, they established their reputations as hip-hop artists.

However, not all youth were aware of youth workers' hip-hop reputations, particularly those established in underground hip-hop scenes.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, less widely known youth worker-hip-hop artists often noted how young people who loved hip-hop demonstrated a pull to interact with them.⁶⁶ For instance, Shane comments:

Like if you were a rapper, or like Joshua,⁶⁷ he's an amazing break dancer, and they are like 'oh, that is so cool', like he drops all the barriers, like especially for a kid who, you know, listens to T-pain, TI or 50 cent or anything like that.

I observed how hip-hop skills performed by workers had an instant appeal for young people, even if the young people did not practice the art form themselves. For instance, Joshua, a b-boy/youth worker described how young people react to him when he breaks, "they like freak out like 'oh my goodness, ahhh!'"⁶⁸ The performance of b-boy moves on the playing fields of the school he worked in resulted in the cultivation of young people's interest in attending b-boy workshops. Young people would ask him how they could

⁶⁵ At the time young people had not always encountered b-boying as it was not in the media as much as other forms of dance. Although recently this has started to change and is frequently displayed in popular music videos.

⁶⁶ I also observed this attraction to these workers during my fieldwork.

⁶⁷ Joshua worked with Shane at the school as a youth worker.

⁶⁸ This response was seen wherever I followed him, at youth dance parties, school grounds, public events, and in b-boy workshops.

learn to do what he did, to which he would reply: “It starts with head stands”, and begin to practice with them on the school lawn. After watching Joshua perform, many of these young people then eagerly took up his offer to teach them this art form in a “boys group” held at school during lunchtime and after-school at the youth trust’s premises.

While the performance of hip-hop skills and knowledge played an important part in enrolling young people in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action, it was not often a worker’s hip-hop abilities alone that contributed to successful interessement efforts. A hip-hop reputation anti-anti-programme was strengthened through a worker’s associations with other actors in hip-hop webs of relations. ANT theorists such as Latour (1991), Mol and Law (2008), and Law and Singleton (2013) highlight how actors co-constitute each other. The shape an actor takes is understood as defined and characterised by the “webby relations” of which it is a part (Law & Singleton, 2013, p. 490). This co-constitution was evident in the connectedness of hip-hop actors that contributed to hip-hop reputations. For instance, Aroha’s hip-hop dance instructor reputation was strengthened by investing in building the reputation of a variety of actors, such as the dance studio and dance crews, that her own hip-hop identity was enacted in and through. Aroha noted that engaging in hip-hop performance and competition opportunities had helped establish the hip-hop reputation of the dance studio she ran and dance crews she led.

As Latour (1991) notes, investment in anti-anti-programmes is necessary to overcome forms of resistance or indifference on the part of other actors. In addition to performing with her dance crews at school assemblies to promote her activities, Aroha invested in strengthening her reputation anti-anti programme through activities outside of this performance. She achieved this through her dance crews winning hip-hop dance competitions and gaining performance opportunities at big events and concerts, and on television programmes. The publicity that came from succeeding within these webs of relations saw her dance crew and instructors gain a reputation as being “the best”. Through her connection to the dance crew, and the events the crew had been involved in, she was able to accrue a hip-hop identity that saw young people motivated to learn from her and engage in the hip-hop-youth work dance activities she ran. Her hip-hop

identity was thus enacted through the many actors involved in these webs of relations, such as judges, medals, and the hip-hop musicians they performed with.

Mobilising hip-hop clothing.

In the current study, hip-hop clothing is a non-human actor (Latour, 2005). Hip-hop clothing was worn by youth workers as a natural extension of their personal hip-hop dress, but at times also constituted a deliberate choice to signify their hip-hop allegiance. These non-human actors were considered important to establish an authentic hip-hop identity (Bloustien & Peters, 2011; Clay, 2003). For example, Aroha described how when she sought to be taken seriously as a hip-hop mentor she enlisted actors that were worn by female hip-hop urban dancers. To do otherwise, such as by wearing a skirt and high heels, would be to enact another form of femininity that would mark her as inauthentic. Various combinations of hip-hop clothing marked this form of hip-hop authenticity: baggy pants, baseball style tops, caps, bandanas, beanies, and sneakers were common actors.⁶⁹ Aroha made a conscious decision to wear particular clothing when promoting her dance activities, to convey her identity as a hip-hop artist:

When I was advertising the hip-hop in [Intermediate A] I advertised auditions for the hip-hop crew. And had my hip-hop crew perform. So when I did that I did wear hip-hop clothes on purpose, because I think it would be kind of weird if I was dressed all womanly and was like ‘come and audition for my hip-hop crew’, because they would be like ‘whatever’.

However, Aroha did not wear hip-hop clothing all the time, but wore hip-hop clothing in circumstances where she needed to express her identity as a hip-hop dancer and choreographer. In this way, hip-hop clothing enrolled into a youth work assemblage was considered to contribute to an anti-anti-programme to address the lack of trust in youth work mentors. However, the clothing actor, if not part of the hip-hop fashion assemblage, can further alienate young people and contribute to an anti-programme to youth engagement.

⁶⁹ This clothing was subject to shifts as fashions changed. For instance, “harem” pants and leggings worn with baggy tops became popular towards the end of my fieldwork.

Jerolmack and Tavory (2014) use ANT to explore how non-humans such as clothing shape social interactions and social identities. They note that an individual's anticipations of other people's reactions shapes their choice in clothing, and can thus provide the materials to mould the social self in ways that set up desired social interactions. However, they also point out that these non-humans may also shape social interactions by acting in ways unintended by the wearer: "Nonhumans can mold a particular social identity not only by invoking a situationally irrelevant aspect of self but also by disrupting or discrediting our presentation of self" (p. 68). Youth workers' accounts of failures to engage young people noted the wearing of particular clothing as resulting in youth resistance to engage with the worker. For instance, Mark, a worker new to youth work, described how he had to learn what kind of clothing constituted an anti-programme in his attempts to readily engage with youth:

When I started this job I wore my suit and tie every single day, power dressed: cufflinks, you know tie clips, and that was what I thought was expected. And the looks that I was getting from the kids! Now I come 'gangstered' up, like every day. Like I normally wear my Rasta head band, and uh, try and look like them and it's amazing the amount of response.

Here, Mark arrives at an anti-anti-programme through trials of association to see "what holds with what" (Latour, 1999b, p. 164). Mark's experience of some clothing actors facilitating connections with the worker better than others aligns with findings from the Connexions initiative in the United Kingdom:⁷⁰

When workers are not in-tune with things that young people find socially and culturally important and, for instance, dress or behave in ways that mark them out as culturally or demographically very different from the young people in the environment in which they work. They thus become perceived as less approachable, less likely to understand the situations of the young people they work with, and thus less likely to earn their trust. (Wood & Hine, 2009, p. 184)

⁷⁰ Wood and Hine's analysis is based on the findings of Hoggarth and Smith's (2004) evaluation of the Connexions initiative.

For Mark, overcoming the clothing anti-programme required him to wear his own casual clothing. Similarly, youth workers in this study who were highly invested in hip-hop culture reported success in engaging with young people by incorporating elements of their own hip-hop fashion into their self-presentation as a youth worker.



Figure 4.1. Kicks circulate in multiple webs of relations and thus can contribute to the enactment of multiple identity positions and hold diverse connotations within youth work assemblages.

Note. Nike Dunk Varsity Red by Christian H. Available under CC BY 2.0 at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chrishimself/4267790252>

The wearing of “kicks”—sport shoes of sought after hip-hop styles, such as Nikes, Adidas, or Pumas, played a role in the establishment of a connection between the youth worker and young person. Kicks hold currency across the ages within hip-hop culture and were a common feature of youth work engagement assemblages. The value of kicks in a youth worker’s engagement assemblage supports Latour’s (1991, 2005) argument that non-humans should not be overlooked for the role they play in the establishment of social ties.

Amanda, who defined herself as a non-hip-hop youth worker, together with Joshua, a worker who wears hip-hop clothes as part of his hip-hop lifestyle, illustrate how these items should not be underestimated as an addition to a youth worker's method assemblage to engage with youth.

A: Even, and it sounds stupid, wearing Nike shoes at school. Like walking around: 'Oh, Amanda, man, I want your shoes, give me your shoes man!'

J: Good shoes eh. (He wears green Pumas and jiggles his foot at me in jest).

A: It's weird. I've never thought about it or been into it, I mean these guys dress like crazy all the time,⁷¹ and I am a bit more conservative and don't have the money to splash out on all this gear. But it's interesting eh.

J: Yep, it's a lifestyle

A: Yeah, identity is huge with kids

J: Yeah, it's crazy. Like pretty much every single kid in every single school is like that. Like they see any shoes or funkiness they are just drawn to you, or as I said before, you speak their language.

This non-human actor that is highly visible and valued within hip-hop culture mobilised young people to interact with youth workers. Through wearing these shoes, even workers not striving to enact a hip-hop identity were able to initiate connections with young people, as young people actively approached the wearer to check out their shoes. The shoe-youth worker assemblage counters the anti-programme of distrust that young people may feel towards adults they may sense as different to themselves. As will be clarified below, this is not to say that a worker could assume a hip-hop identity by simply associating themselves with these actors. However, in the cases where youth workers enlisted the shoes in combination with other hip-hop practices and actors, they reported that young people acknowledged their hip-hop status. For instance, Aroha, a hip-hop dancer/ youth worker described how she won respect with her choice of shoes:

"I've got this one pair of shoes and if I wear them the kids always think I'm cool because I'm wearing the shoes".

The impact of kicks on the success of an enrolment programme of action highlights the agency of non-humans in the engagement process. Latour (2005) notes the importance

⁷¹ Amanda is referring to the other hip-hop artist-youth workers she works with.

of non-humans as mediators. Within hip-hop-youth work webs of relations, kicks are a mediator, that is, an actor that changes the nature of the relationship between the youth worker and the young person.

A number of ANT authors note that it is not just successful enrolment attempts that inform the work people do—it is also the failures (Callon & Law, 1982; Latour, 1991). Failed engagement attempts helped the youth workers in this study learn which actors to substitute, and which to enlist into their network as they attempted to engage a wide range of youth. Some youth workers consciously attempted to predict youth interests and their responses to certain forms of self-presentation, adjusting their interest maps and clothing accordingly (Callon & Law, 1982). For instance, many hip-hop and non-hip-hop youth workers chose to wear kicks when working with young people invested in hip-hop culture after they had experienced these items' bridging capabilities.

Even youth workers for whom hip-hop was a part of their identity and usual dress made choices as to how best to play on the appeal of these clothing actors in their youth work. Shane's use of kicks illustrates such a process. Before becoming a youth worker, Shane had a high paying job that enabled him to indulge in his passion for kicks. He had bought nearly three hundred pairs, many of which were limited edition Nikes.⁷² He utilised these kicks in his youth work in school by intentionally wearing a different pair each day. This practice worked to open up a talking point and gave young people reason to greet him. It was clear that by utilising knowledge of the work achieved by non-humans gained through their youth work experiences, youth workers made choices regarding the actors to bind themselves with in order to successfully enlist young people into their youth work network. Just as Latour illustrates the power of the hotel key weight in the Parisian hotel key assemblage to increase the numbers of hotel guests who became enrolled into the hotel manager's programme of action, the enlistment of kicks strengthened the youth worker's attempts to get young people to connect with them, overcoming their anti-programme of distrust. The enlistment of kicks thus supports Latour's (1991, 2005) argument regarding the power of non-humans to strengthen the enrolment attempts of human actors.

⁷² For instance one limited edition pair he showed me was worth 900 dollars.

Keepin' it real or a hip-hop try-hard?

Not all youth workers were in a position to build connections with youth through enacting a hip-hop identity. Youth workers without a hip-hop background credited young people with being able to see through the arbitrary adoption of hip-hop practices or symbols to try to convey a hip-hop persona. Such arbitrary adoption was seen as an anti-programme to building trust. They emphasised the importance of conveying authenticity over that of attempting to express hip-hop taste and identity. For instance, youth worker/youth trust manager Tobias explained how young people will fail to be enrolled if youth workers adopt false hip-hop personas: “The high schoolers just see right through it, you know, they just say ‘dude, what are you doing?’” These workers therefore adopted an alternative set of practices for keeping it real, and so avoided being defined as a hip-hop try-hard. However, while it might seem that this would preclude their associations with material actors associated with hip-hop webs of relations, in practice it was not that simple. Although they could not build associations with material actors such as hip-hop clothing in the same way as their youth work/hip-hop artist peers to build connections with youth, these youth workers could still find ways to enlist these actors into their youth work identity assemblage. This was found to rely on the gradual enlistment of actors, as well as the many webs of relations in which actors were enacted.

There were other possibilities for workers to engage with youth without having to enact a hip-hop identity. For instance, Mark, a conventional youth worker, chose to learn how to break from the b-boys who used the youth trust venue he supervised. “Giving it a go” was respected by the b-boy leaders, who were passionate about sharing their art form, and explained that everybody has to begin learning somewhere. This provided Mark with ample opportunity to further his connection with these young people. Moreover, Mark observed that his participation encouraged the other young people who were hip-hop novices to also attempt new things, and that engaging in shared learning and practice helped him form a relationship with these youth too.

This technique of engaging in hip-hop practices and making gradual hip-hop additions to one's identity is not the same as simply emulating hip-hop practices, language and style without prior involvement in the hip-hop worlds themselves. It involved a different web of associations. Young people were enlisted as a cultural guide. But the absences are notable too, as this assemblage did not involve the initial investment in the enrolment of hip-hop actors, such as clothing or music. Through this gradual adoption of hip-hop socio-material practices, despite not having built a hip-hop identity or reputation, Mark could show interest in young people's hip-hop activities without being labelled as try-hard. Latour (1991) shows that identities are reliant upon the associations an actor has built with other actors. He argues that identities are not fixed as an actor can become involved in new networks, whereby an actor takes on new characteristics. This is reflected in that Mark started to enact a hip-hop identity through his gradual enlistment of hip-hop actors and practices. However, at this point, the associations and substitutions made see him enact an identity of learner rather than mentor. In this way, Mark was able to establish an anti-anti-programme of hip-hop identity to avoid the production of anti-programmes of distrust that could arise through being inauthentic.

Youth workers also wore kicks without enacting a try-hard or false persona. The multiple worlds in which these particular actors could circulate enabled youth workers to wear these items in a youth work context without attempting to perform a hip-hop identity. Some youth workers, such as Amanda, were known to have mobilised these shoes within their youth work for their sport and comfort use. These shoes only took on their hip-hop significance when enacted within a web of relations that involved young people invested in hip-hop culture. Young people brought their own hip-hop associations to their encounters with the shoe, so that the shoe cued its enactment as a hip-hop commodity only when enacted within these particular webs of relations. Given "things" do not have fixed meanings in and of themselves (DeNora, 2000; Latour, 1991, 2005; Law & Mol, 2008), youth workers could safely enlist them into their youth work-hip-hop interactions with young people in a way that did not mark them as try-hard.

As noted, absences are important too. In their wearing of kicks, Mark and Amanda did not attempt to adopt other hip-hop conventions and clothing actors. Mark believed he

successfully avoided being labelled try hard through wearing his own clothing, including Adidas kicks commonly worn in hip-hop worlds:

I haven't gone out and bought them to fit in with them. It is what I would wear on my weekends . . . if you are being fake people know it. It's a natural instinct. You know, it's the whole hip-hop saying—'keep it real'.

The presence of these other actors together with the absence of others produced an identity position whereby youth workers could avoid enacting the anti-programme of hip-hop try-hard.

Assembling a hip-hop identity was not simply reliant on the clothing worn. Studies on how people establish their belonging and identity within a youth sub-culture show that the achievement of social and cultural capital is dependent on other socio-technical practices, including one's "performance, dress, argot, style and posture" (Blaustein & Peters, 2011, p. 89). Thus, how a youth worker wore the clothing, together with whether they could enact a hip-hop skill set, knowledge and community membership was vital to gaining hip-hop status. When the worker was not assembled within such a web of relations, the clothing itself could not exert its force as a hip-hop identity marker. Hip-hop clothing is therefore not a necessity for successful youth work; however, hip-hop clothing in the assemblages in this study can be seen as an actor that together with other heterogeneous actors constitutes an anti-anti-programme to distrust.⁷³ As such, the enrolment of particular clothing items aided attempts to enrol young people who identify with hip-hop culture into a youth work-hip-hop assemblage. Thus, as Latour (1991, p. 116) warns, although small things such as an item of clothing, "may make all the difference" to the success of an enterprise, we must be careful not to over generalise its centrality, as it "will be different in each story".

Assembling Spaces

So far, following the associations and substitutions of actors made to enrol a set of actors (Latour, 1991; 1999b), has shown that assemblages within a hip-hop-youth work

⁷³ It should also be noted that kicks can be found that suit a variety of ages, and hip-hop dress does not require wearing "your pants down round your knees".

programme are fluid, evolving in response to anti-programmes encountered on the part of young people. Just as a youth worker's identity and reputation assemblages can be traced through associations of particular actors attracting a young person to enter a youth work-hip-hop programme of action, so too can youth work venues and the human and non-human actors assembled within them.

Chapter Three began to look at the complexity of assembling spaces, by considering how interest maps guided the configuration of youth trust resources to support youth hip-hop activities. In the following discussion, I further unpack the complexity of configuring youth trust spaces by tracing some of the actors that came together to both avoid and counter anti-programmes related to space. An anti-programme considered here is that of incompatible space; that is, a socio-material arrangement that was incompatible with a particular hip-hop activity. This was evident in challenges some b-boys encountered in their use of particular youth trust spaces. Here, a youth trust's failure to fully enrol some b-boys highlights the configuration of human and non-human actors that constituted this anti-programme of incompatible space.

Just as youth workers changed the clothing actors they enrolled, youth spaces were refined through experiments made in substitutions and associations of actors. The enrolment of a particular actor within a youth venue could require adjustments to other parts of the youth trust assemblage so to maintain its accessibility, and thus the enrolment of young people. This is explored through describing the youth trust's efforts to counter the "lack of money" anti-programme on the part of some young people they wished to enrol into their hip-hop-youth work activities. This anti-programme emerged from specific youth space arrangements. I follow how the youth trust's efforts to counter this anti-programme shaped the socio-material configuration of the spaces provided for hip-hop activity.

"Making it work": B-boys/b-girls enlistment of youth work spaces.

The enactment of youth driven hip-hop-youth work activities required young people to enrol a youth trust and its resources into their existing hip-hop assemblage. B-boy

practice sessions are reliant on space. For b-boys/b-girls to enrol a youth trust venue, space to practice was considered a priority. B-boy Crew B leaders Lewis and Ryan explained how they chose not to practice at youth trusts whose spaces they found too small for their dance needs:

L: I just don't like it because it is too small. It's like YTA all over again—when everybody has to wait for someone else to go. If I was there by myself it's not so bad, but when we went there was like ten people and that's cramped—it's a forced down time, you know.

E: It's actually a big space, it just has things in there

L: Yeah, like those pillars, they are kind of like in the way.

R: In the wrong space

L: Especially if you want to do dynamic moves, they take up bit of room, and I am not the tallest.

Here the configuration of space constituted an anti-programme for the b-boys to practice. Small spaces, and larger spaces divided up with pillars, constrain the number of b-boys/b-girls that can practice at any one time (see Figure 4.2). The youth trust venues that were configured in this way and open to all b-boys/ b-girls therefore interfered with this crew's goals of gaining maximum practice time, and were therefore considered unsuitable by the leaders of this crew. In place of these youth trust spaces, B-boy Crew B enrolled YTC's youth centre space where they had exclusive access to the small space to practice in private.



Figure 4.2. A picture of a youth trust space where the pillars were far apart enough to allow dynamic movement. Other spaces were smaller and did not allow this freedom of movement.

The need to define one's own style to enjoy and win battles by incorporating the element of surprise is an inherent part of b-boying that was incompatible with inviting all b-boys to utilise a shared jam or practice space at YTA and YTE.⁷⁴ The privacy that was provided by YTC's youth venue was therefore an important anti-anti programme for this crew.

E: Do you still go to YTE?

L: I think it's B-boy Crew A's thing, so we don't want to always go there too. Like sometimes it is not fun to be there.

E: So that is one of the disadvantages to having it with them?

L: Well they influence you, you don't want to look like them, I don't think they mind, but like for us, for me, I really don't want to look like them I'd rather not. . . .

E: So do you guys go to YTA to practice or other stuff?

R: Um we did when we first started, like we went there.

L: We have been there but we don't go there

E: Do quite a lot of new b-boys go there?

R: Some. Some young kids eh.

L: But there is no space there. I hate going there because there is no space It ends up just the older guys showing off. And you don't have room to make your own stuff up. Like you know, if I go there all I do is power, because I don't want them to know my little things, you know, because that is what makes me different, and if they know it all, it eliminates the element of surprise.

R: And also we want to get surprised by them as well.

L: Yeah

R: You don't want to think 'oh ok this guy is going to not surprise me at all', because you have seen him everyday. You know, when you have not seen anyone for half a year, and he comes to a jam and he has got all these new moves, you are like 'oh, man, I am going to have to use all my new moves.'

L: Like congratulations, you know, it makes the game more fun.

The battles and competitions that were a part of the b-boy world drove competitiveness between crews. This meant the enrolment of one b-boy crew into a youth trust space operated as an anti-programme to the enrolment of B-boy Crew B. Here, the enrolment

⁷⁴ Battles form an important part of B-boying. See the glossary of terms.

of one crew sees only a partial enrolment of another crew. It was therefore not simply the physical features of the space that deterred B-boy Crew B from enrolling a particular youth trust's space into their practice assemblage; the combination of human and non-human actors enrolled co-produced the anti-programme of an incompatible practice space.

Challenges or anti-programmes posed by the socio-material configuration of a space did not always lead to a youth trust venue not being enrolled within a b-boy's hip-hop network. B-boys assembled their own anti-anti-programmes to counter obstacles encountered. The example of how b-boys worked with the floor actor within youth trust space assemblages demonstrates this process.

B-boys identified a floor or flat ground space as a vital actor within the b-boy assemblage. As John, leader of B-boy Crew A, explains:

E: What is it that you need?

J: A space and a floor and that's it.

E: Music?

J: Music, no: but if you've got music then why not. Sometimes we used to go to the Square⁷⁵ where we didn't have music—or sometimes the grass. So all you need is a space. And with music it's better.

E: And do they [the youth trust] provide music or do you bring it?

J: Bit of both. Yeah. I mean if it were summer we would probably be at the square by now and just practice there. So it does not really matter. All we need is a floor. A shed.

The floor space provided by a youth trust therefore made an important contribution to mobilising b-boys/b-girls into a relationship with the youth trust. The anti-programmes of bad weather and lack of light in evenings saw b-boys/b-girls enrol youth trust's sheltered venues in addition to other spaces such as friends' garages and public spaces to practice and jam (see Figures 4.3 & 4.4).

⁷⁵ Cathedral Square in the middle of Christchurch City is often referred to by locals as "the Square".



Figure 4.3. Dancing in the square: b-boying can be done anywhere there is space with a flat ground surface.

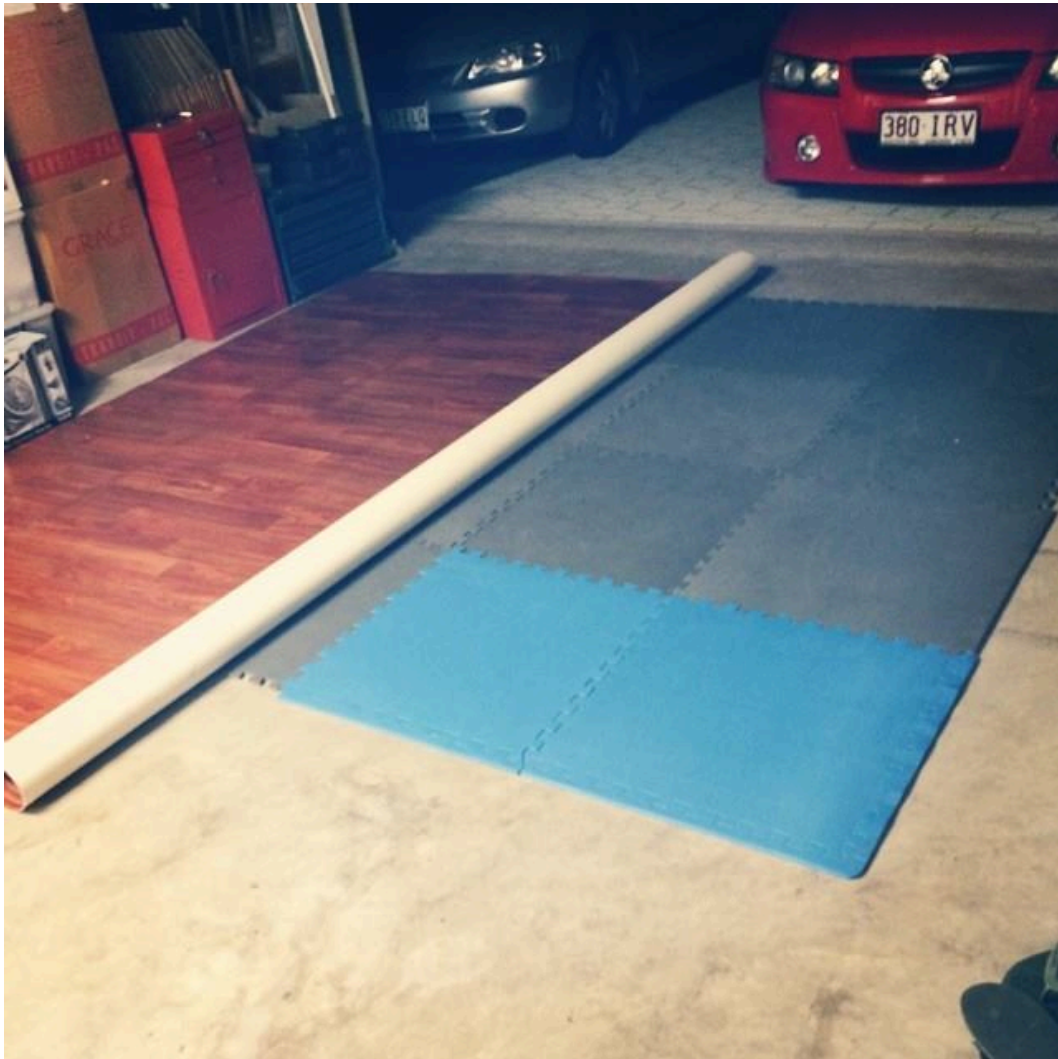


Figure 4.4. Training for power moves on concrete takes its toll on knees, hips and shoulders. Puzzle mats are here used to produce a practice space in the garage to allow private training for battles.

Note. Power moves are the acrobatic moves in b-boying that involve displays of strength and dexterity.

Unpacking the floor assemblage

However not all floor spaces are created equal. While a floor space enabled b-boy practice sessions and jams to take place, various anti-programmes emerged from a floor's specific material features. Concrete floors, carpet, and non-industrial vinyl within various youth trust venues all presented anti-programmes in terms of the comfort and injury risk to the dancer. To counter these anti-programmes, the b-boys enlisted socio-

material actors from outside the youth trust venue. For instance, in order to counter the injury risk anti-programme that the concrete floors presented, b-boys set apart their “practice” from their “training” sessions. This meant enrolling a local sports centre’s gymnastic school venue to train (see Figure 4.5), so that they could practice their flips with the support of mats and pads. In this way, they could then practice these moves within a youth trust venue after they had been mastered, mitigating the risk of injury. The configuration of the youth trust spaces therefore influenced the nature of b-boys practice and training sessions. The resulting practice and training assemblages thereby constituted anti-anti-programmes to counter what were otherwise incompatible spaces.

A passion for b-boying saw young people accommodate actors that only interfered with their comfort while dancing, but did not impede the dance itself. As Ryan and Lewis explained in regards to encountering dirty floors:

L: yeah, and you come out and you look at your hands and you’re like ‘oh’. It’s better if the floor is clean.

R: We do try to ignore it.

L: Yeah we try, after a time you get used to it.

This making do attitude was also evident in their preference for a smooth wooden floor:

L: And the floor— like no cracks and stuff

E: So do you like lino?⁷⁶

L: Lino’s ok, like the industrial lino would be perfect because it’s hard and you can’t rip it

E: You can rip it?

L: Yeah, because sometimes when you get the softer linos, like then—

R: Like if you are balancing on it and you have a buckle on your belt that has a hard edge. And then there is, like the floor at YTA, it hurts if you crash. It’s concrete with lino on the top of it.

L: It’s ok, you get used to it I’m sure. But a wooden floor would be nice.

E: It would be ideal?

L: Yeah, a smooth wooden floor.

⁷⁶ Linoleum



Figure 4.5. A gymnasium space b-boys/b-girls visited. The configuration of mats, floor and space allowed training to take place.

The boys engaged in Joshua's b-boy workshops held within YTD's dance studio also accommodated the resistance put up by a less than ideal floor. This dance studio's floor was concrete, covered with thin underlay and carpet. I noted in my observations of this b-boy workshop:

When I asked one of the intermediate boys practicing there what he thought of the hard floor, he said he liked it because it was 'flat'. Another young person clarified that this was in regards to the even and smooth surface provided by the carpet. What I found interesting was that the first young person did not complain about the floor, even though his knee was bleeding from a graze he had received a minute before. This boy just carried on dancing.

The flat surface is highlighted here as the determining characteristic of the floor space assemblage that maintains the enrolment of the young person. These examples reveal that the ease with which b-boys could enrol youth trust venues to enact b-boy activities. This was partly due to their own flexibility, something the older b-boys attributed to the nature of hip-hop's "something out of nothing" roots.⁷⁷

The need for additional venues at competition time led to a partial enrolment of many youth trusts by b-boy crews. As mentioned above, B-boy Crew B cited privacy and a need for a practical space as their reason for enrolling one youth trust venue over others. Another crew based their choice of youth trust venue on the history of involvement with the youth trust. However, around competition time, both crews assembled a variety of sites into their practice regime so that they could practice throughout the week. The limited scheduled time available at their preferred youth trust practice sites meant choices of practice venue often came down to availability on given nights. In this case, the anti-programme "lack of space" for b-boy practice sessions saw compromises made as to the ideal practice space. This highlights the contingency of youth trusts' space assemblages. Adjustments to a youth venue assemblage did not have to take place if young people did not have other alternatives. Callon (1986b) notes that intersement efforts are often shaped by requirements to interrupt an actor's associations with competing networks. Not surprisingly, the lack of adjustments made to youth trust space assemblages to address the anti-programme of incompatible space resulted in only partial enrolments of some b-boys.

⁷⁷ "Something out of nothing" refers to the use of actors that are available at little cost to the young person (Rose, 2008). The hip-hop elements were conceived in the Bronx where young people did not have access to the resources used in conventional music or art making (Leafloor, 2012). See Appendix One.

Assembling an accessible youth space.

The accessibility of the resources provided by a youth organisation has been documented elsewhere as impacting on the enlistment of young people in using the resources on offer (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1990; Mclaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994; Mercier, Piat, Peladeau, & Dagenais, 2000). Fees charged for the use of facilities or youth club membership and the location of a youth venue has been found to have an impact on youth enrolment (Adas, 2001; Mclaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994; Duffett & Johnson, 2004).⁷⁸ Chapter Seven explores the impact of a venue's accessibility in terms of its location in physical space as determined by wider webs of relations that configure young people's movements in the city. For instance, the accessibility of central city venues was disrupted by damage to public transport links caused by the February 2011 earthquakes. In the present discussion, I wish to consider how accessibility was linked to a youth space assemblage countering a "lack of money" anti-programme on the part of many young people who became enrolled in the hip-hop-youth work activities.

For some young people in this research, lack of money constituted an anti-programme working against engagement in certain hip-hop activities on offer in the city. Therefore, when another hip-hop assemblage was offered by a youth trust that was not accompanied by fees, young people became enlisted in the latter. Ryan and Lewis illustrate this by describing how they had become deterred from enlisting in hip-hop urban dance and attracted to b-boying:

E: Do you reckon one of the appeals of b-boying for young people is the fact you don't need much stuff?

L: I think so

R: Especially the fact that we never had to pay for it when we were younger, when we first started. Like I think when we started urban dance they wanted us to pay, and being the poor students we were at high school, we were like 'I don't want to'. And then when it came to b-boying we used to train at this place [youth trust venue] we got for free.

⁷⁸ Although the impact on older young people has not been explored (Mclaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994).

Similarly, at the time of my fieldwork one young person expressed disbelief and then enthusiasm when he found out he could attend a youth worker-run b-boy workshops free of charge. The youth worker noted that this boy lacked the monetary means to participate in after-school activities, making YTD's b-boy workshops even more special for him. Running this workshop, as well as dance parties, at no cost to young people and their guardians meant YTD and its youth workers were able to enrol many young people from the intermediate schools they worked in. These schools were located in low socio-economic suburbs.⁷⁹ YTD's ability to assemble a hip-hop workshop free of charge enabled them to counter the anti-programme of lack of money. The absence of money required to allow a young person's enrolment in the youth work activity thus saw the youth trust network gain the support of young people's caregivers. This alliance was vital for gaining the enlistment of young people in hip-hop activities in after-school hours. The youth trusts creation of a free dance workshop was therefore an innovative means of enrolling young people into their hip-hop activities. This shows how innovations that emerge through flexible assemblages can counter anti-programmes (Latour, 1991).

Although many of the older youth in this study aged between 16 and 24 years old were no longer dependent on their caregivers' income, they were either students or in jobs where they were not currently earning a lot of money. Consequently, they had little disposable income. Many commented that their use of youth trust resources was based on their lack of money. The venues of youth trusts were used by b-boys and MC's looking for places to practice and jam at no cost, so they could meet their hip-hop needs for free. Lewis, B-boy Crew B, explains:

We can't at the moment afford to hire our own place, it costs – it would be like an overhead. We don't have a steady income because we are not about making money. Well, it would be good to make money off it someday, but right now that is not happening for us. But we do have a lot of places like youth centres that will provide us a place to jam.

⁷⁹ Access was also enabled through youth workers collecting and dropping home young people with the use of the youth trust's van.

Providing youth with a space for free therefore constituted an anti-anti-programme to the anti-programme lack of money.

A lack of money is a common barrier to providing a range of youth services (McLaughlin, 2000). The youth trusts involved in the current research were similarly impacted by a lack of funding or limitations to financial resources – making lack of money a formidable anti-programme. In order to form an anti-programme to lack of money on the part of some of the young people they worked with, youth trusts had to consider how to assemble their youth spaces. Money is critical to bringing actors together within youth trust spaces to enact hip-hop assemblages. Some actors required more money than others if they were to be enrolled into the youth trust's venue network. Therefore, the way a hip-hop space was assembled, together with how the different actors within the space and the venue building itself were enlisted through a youth trust's resourcing and funding strategies determined whether a youth trust charged a fee for young people to attend a hip-hop activity or access a space to practice a hip-hop element.⁸⁰ Latour (1991) points out that flexibility in the constitution of a programme of action is required when faced with anti-programmes.

The substitution or enlistment of additional actors has to occur to form an anti-anti-programme. Overcoming the lack of money anti-programme required youth trusts to consider whether they replaced venue actors that required more money to be enlisted into the assemblage, or whether they would help young people to gain access through other strategies. The following examples trace the substitutions and associations of actors that had to take place to ensure the enlistment of young people within their hip-hop-youth work programmes of action.

Community-based organisations are known to strive to keep fees low or non-existent so to ensure youth participation in their spaces and activities (McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994). An example of providing a space for free is given by YTE. Mark explained YTE's strategy in providing their resources for free:

⁸⁰ See Chapter Six for a discussion of these slices of practice of negotiations and arrangements that enabled certain actors to be enrolled for little money and others for free. These resourcing arrangements could also be considered as ways in which the "lack of money" anti-programme were countered.

There are resources out there all around Christchurch and they are charged for so they are not accessible. Whereas if you come down here on an evening, there is quite often youth getting involved and doing stuff here because it's free. . . . I've seen places [youth trust venues] fully resourced and not used. And if you've got resources but you charged for them, like if we charged a five dollar entry to come in here, zero people would be involved. With it being free, it makes it able for them to be involved.

In order to remove money from their youth space assemblage, YTE decided to not invest money in refurbishing their venue, which was part of a run-down building. Instead, YTE decided to provide youth with the space "as is". Their youth interest map and resulting programme of action proved successful, with the MCs and b-boys enrolling the space into their hip-hop assemblages.

Sometimes the youth trusts charged a gold coin entry fee for hip-hop events. This enabled youth trusts to pay for additional resources, such as prizes, venues and sound and lighting equipment, which were needed to assemble the event. Youth workers found they needed to keep the cost down to a gold coin fee so not to exclude young people and families from low socio-economic groups. In order to keep costs down, youth trusts mobilised money and socio-material actors from within the youth trust network (see Chapter Six). They also excluded other actors that required additional costs they could not meet.

An alternative anti-anti-programme to counter lack of money was seen in YTB's provision of scholarships to young people. The youth trust paid for some of the youth worker's hours in running a dance studio. However, the studio as a whole was run as a church business. While this meant money could be found to invest in dance studio resources and dance instructors, fees had to be charged to make it a sustainable business. When such a fee was a part of their hip-hop assemblages, the enrolment of other actors had to take place in order to enrol young people impacted by a lack of money. The enrolment of a scholarship into the youth trust assemblage constituted an anti-anti-programme targeted at specific young people. Oreck, Baum, and McCartnery (1999) note the value of community workers taking on a mediator role in helping young

people find financial support to access arts tutelage opportunities. In the current study, the addition of this scholarship actor enabled young people from families who could not afford to support their young people's participation to join classes run by Aroha, and thus become enrolled in the hip-hop-youth work programme of action.⁸¹ In contrast, YTC chose to provide a dance instructor and facilities they could source at no extra charge to the young people, so that they could provide a dance class assemblage for young people with minimal fees.

These examples of some of the anti-programmes youth trusts formed to counter lack of money and incompatible space highlight the role of non-human actors in forming connections between young people and youth trusts. Moreover, the above discussion demonstrates the local and contingent nature of relationships between actors as put forward by ANT theorists such as Latour (1991) and Callon (1986b). Just like Latour's (1991) hotel customers, some youth were more readily enrolled into a given space assemblage than others. It was shown that what particular actors were necessary components of a space varied for different groups of youth and were subject to shift as young people's alliances changed. This lack of universality of anti-programmes and required anti-anti-programmes meant youth workers frequently found themselves in situations where they needed to figure out which substitutions and associations were critical to enrolling certain youth within particular contexts of use. As such, like Latour's (1991) hotel manager, youth workers had to rely on processes of trial and error. Experimentation with different configurations of actors and practices for the purpose of successfully enrolling young people was also evident in efforts to circulate information among youth of the hip-hop support and opportunities on offer.

Circulating Information

Getting information out to young people, or circulating information, constituted a key part of youth work enrolment efforts. Studies of young people's use of youth services have suggested that investment in publicity by services aimed at young people is an

⁸¹ Aroha's role was to identify talented youth that faced financial barriers to participation in the dance studio.

important part of engagement work (Hoggarth & Smith, 2004; Youthline, 2006). Moreover, getting the right information to young people is claimed to play an important role in getting young people to take up a youth service (Hoggarth & Smith, 2004). Similarly, in my research, youth workers identified young people's lack of knowledge of hip-hop opportunities and activities as an anti-programme for young people's voluntary engagement in hip-hop-youth work programmes of action.

Circulating information about hip-hop opportunities constitutes an integral initial stage of the translation process, as awareness of a choice of action is given to young people. Interressement is based upon problematisation, the phase of enrolment work where actors are made aware of the roles they can take within a network (Callon, 1986b). Circulating information practices played a vital role in mobilising young people to enter a youth trust's space or hip-hop activities. The circulation of information rarely occurred as a result of a human-to-human interaction; communication was often mediated by technologies, such as cell phones, email, and online social networking sites. Hence, a successful publicity assemblage to counter the anti-programme of "lack of knowledge" often involved enrolling a range of heterogeneous actors whose inter-linkage enabled the communication to the young people of information about youth work events, activities, and socio-material actors.

However, the circulation of information does not operate via a simple diffusion of knowledge, as each actor in the network has the potential to alter the content, or drop it completely (Latour, 1986a, 1987, 1991). In their study of a youth service, Hoggarth and Smith (2004) found that a breakdown in communicating information about the service could occur both in the "information routes" as well as "in the message itself" (p. 59). An ANT approach to tracing the interactions between technological and social actors considers how and what information is circulated within a network. Here, the various anti-programmes of "circulating information" are unpacked within the socio-technical assemblages involved in the promotion work of "spreading the word" and branding. I begin by tracing what socio-material actors enabled the faithful transmission of information, and which actors transformed it, or failed to pass it on to another actor. I also provide descriptions of slices of publicity practices that trace the range of actors mediating the ties between young people and youth work worlds. I build on accounts of

publicity work in youth services that identify media such as “newspapers, television, pamphlets, the Internet”, and promotional “goodies” such as pens, as playing a role in youth service publicity, but which have not explored their contribution to information dissemination (Hoggarth & Smith, 2004; Youthline, 2006, p. 15). The ANT framework of translation enables an exploration of the interactions between human and non-human actors and the publicity effects that emerge from these sets of socio-material practices.

Spreading the word.

As a new youth organisation, YTE was relatively unknown when I first met manager/youth worker Mark. At that point, YTE had yet to circulate information widely about themselves and what resources their organisation had to offer young people. Mark described how he was encountering a challenge in gaining young people’s awareness of the socio-material actors they had on offer to work with them to put together an idea for their own activity or event. For example, he described why they were not offering hip-hop DJ workshops despite having all the resources to do so:

It’s very much again needs-based. So we don’t have any kids really coming to ask us to teach them hip-hop scratch DJing. If they did we would make it. Like, we have got the resources, and we have got hip-hop DJs in our collective. So, you know, they are there, so it is really about having passionate kids coming up. But then again, chicken and egg situation—it’s about making them aware that we have got these facilities and stuff, and that is quite difficult for us, you know, to reach them, even if we had an article in the news, they don’t watch the news, so even if we had an article in the news they wouldn’t see it. So what are they reading, what are they doing, how do you get to them?

The form of an effective anti-anti-programme cannot always be predicted beforehand (Latour, 1991). Mark highlights how the anti-programme of lack of awareness posed a need to experiment with methods of circulating information so to achieve the youth trust’s goal of youth driven activities. The importance of the anti-anti-programme of “circulating information” is evident in his trust’s youth driven work. Mark elaborates:

You can't force the kids to bring ideas to you, because then it's not genuine buy in, so it's all a matter of just having the framework there for them to come and use, and publicise it—get awareness of that framework, and if the youth know that frameworks there to help them with events, then they will genuinely bring their events to you.

An investment in publicity work is highlighted not only in new organisations such as YTE, but also in the work of established youth trusts (Haxell, 2012; Hoggarth & Smith, 2004; Youthline, 2006). For example, Peter describes how at one point YTA spent a lot of time focusing on safety when they organised their hip-hop parties, but often neglected to invest in getting the word out:

We didn't really spread the word as much, and we were all ready to go and nobody turns up! So we were like 'oh man!' I think the first couple of one's we had like heaps of young people, and only three or four staff to police them all, and we kind of realised from there that we needed at least ten security or something, so yeah, we finally organise that and then we had only about 100 kids coming. So it is quite hard balancing that.

This example shows the importance of “constantly maintaining the entire succession of accumulated elements” involved in the successful enrolment of the targeted actors (Latour, 1991, p. 109). Despite different demands on their work, youth workers must ensure and maintain the enrolment of actors needed for the enactment of awareness raising practices.

Research has highlighted “word of mouth” to be an effective form of publicity (Blaustein & Peters, 2011; McLaughlin, 2000; Youthline, 2006). This is where young people recommend services they have dealt with to their peers. However, this research does not unpack word of mouth activities. As such, it does not consider the many different actors or “mediators” (Latour, 2005) that play a role in the transportation, and/or transformation, of information through “word of mouth” (Latour, 1986a; 1987). In Callon's (1986b) model of translation, actors that have been successfully enrolled, can be

mobilised by a network to be a spokesperson to support the network's claims.⁸² In my research, young people were often mobilized to represent the network to others. They would therefore enlist other young people into the hip-hop youth work programme of action (Callon, 1986b). Scott, youth worker/youth trust chairperson, explained how young people were crucial in circulating a credible reputation:

I think organic growth is key. Cos if we give a third party recommendation. If I came up to you and said 'hey, we put on the best events ever', you would be like 'oh yep, whatever, who are you? Some thirty-year old, you probably like some disco or country music festival, I'm not going there with you'. But if another young person says 'far out, you should check out these guys they put on the meanest events'. You get instant accreditation. So that is what we like, you know.

Here the young people already enrolled in the youth work network are positioned as playing an important role in countering anti-programmes of indifference or distrust, as the desired standards of activities and socio-material actors is assured through a young person's recommendation. Many of the young people in the current research reported that they had enlisted a youth trust's socio-material actors into their hip-hop assemblage, or attended a youth trust run hip-hop activity or event, after becoming aware of it through another young person. Young people's endorsements and their support of information circulation therefore played an important part in extending the number of young people enrolled in an activity.

Word of mouth, however, was not simply the result of a human-to-human interaction. The programme put in place to circulate information was a heterogeneous network: a network of human and non-human actors working together to spread the word. For example, in using word of mouth on the part of young people to circulate knowledge about a hip-hop dance event, Peter notes:

I wouldn't text a young person directly but I'd tell a key young person who knows everybody and has everybody's cell phone. I'd tell them and then they'd spread the word. I reckon that's the best advertising.

⁸² For instance, actors may be translated and mobilised within the documents a spokesperson presents to others.

Here information flow between youth workers, youth who they know, and other youth not in direct contact with the youth worker, is mediated by cell phone technology. This is one of many examples found in the current study of non-human actors facilitating the spread of information.⁸³ These different technological actors shaped the type of information spread. So while a text message translated information about an upcoming event into a simplistic description of what, where, when, and cost, messages were translated differently through social media channels. As will be discussed below, the latter allowed the inclusion of multiple human actors input, as well as video, photo, and images (such as logos), which enabled additional information about not only an event, but also a youth trust and youth workers, to be circulated. Moreover, both forms of technological actors did not restrict the reconfiguring of information from young person to young person, as young people can add their own information to the material provided by the youth worker. As will be made evident, these socio-material relations could result in disruptions to a youth workers intended message.

Young people were often readily enrolled into a youth trusts' publicity assemblage due to their own investment in the co-production of hip-hop activities and events. Here they worked with other non-human actors; this included both those from within their own world as well as those assembled within youth work worlds. In addition to face-to-face conversations, young people enrolled in a hip-hop-youth work event or activity commonly circulated information about these activities in the form of fliers, posters, and Facebook event pages, and texts. For example, at YTB members of dance crews recruited their friends and family to come to their concerts with the help of the dance studio's fliers and newsletters. This strategy was so effective the lead youth worker decided she did not need to employ other forms of advertising. Latour (1991) points out that a programme of action does not have to become more complicated if current enrolment levels are satisfactory to the enunciator. Aroha's oral statements about a hip-hop event, having been translated into written form, worked to transmit information about the event to young people's allies. As such, the youth worker, young people, and non-humans, were all vital parts of a hip-hop-youth work publicity network.

⁸³ At the time of the study, desk top computers, laptops, and mobile phones were commonly used by young people, but smartphones were not in common circulation. This meant there was limited use of smartphone application software (apps) such as Instagram, and use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter was not in the form found at the time of writing by smartphone app users.

Youth participation in circulating information networks also took place in situations where young people had enrolled youth organisations to gain their help in running a youth driven hip-hop activity or event.⁸⁴ In 2011, B-boy Crew B enrolled YTE to help them run a b-boy event. These young people played a vital role in instigating the circulation of information. This ability was afforded through their alliance with, and/or production of publicity technologies. The b-boys did a lot of the promotion work by placing event information, images of the poster, and YouTube clips of the young people who had already registered onto their own websites, blog, and Facebook group page. They credited the increase in competitors at their b-boy event as being largely due to the young people within their hip-hop networks who had gone on to enrol other young people. This can be seen as an effect of socio-material publicity practices.

Here, as in other youth work and youth organisation situations (Davies & Cranston, 2008; Evans, 2013), social media mobilised young people to readily spread this information. This in turn mobilised more young people throughout their networks and resulted in higher attendance. For instance, the Facebook public event page mobilised young people to spread information about the event by enabling them to invite others within their Facebook network. Facebook allowed young people to both indirectly and directly circulate information about the events, through posting about their experiences, in text, image, or video formats, thereby contributing to a promotion dialogue. The non-humans, in the form of cell-phones, smart-phones, and computers, therefore played an important role within the circulation of information programme of action, and cannot be overlooked for their part in mobilising young people both known and unknown to the youth workers supporting or running a hip-hop event (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011; Davies & Cranston, 2008; Waters, Burnett, Lamm, Lucas, 2009).

However, young people did not always enrol themselves and their technological and social allies into a youth work publicity assemblage. For instance, although B-Boy Crew B readily circulated information about hip-hop events, they kept their practice space at

⁸⁴ Here, it is of note that some young people were seen to enrol youth workers so to gain their assistance in publicising an event. For instance, B-boy Crew B, explained they enrolled YTE partly as a means to get help in producing their fliers.

Youth Trust C secret from other b-boy crews, as they did not want to share the space with them. This demonstrates how as the enunciator of a programme of action (Arora, 2014; Latour, 1991), youth workers cannot control what all the young people do who take part in their activities. In other words, youth workers cannot guarantee whether young people will pass on knowledge about the hip-hop resources and activities available, and if they do, what kind of information they will pass on.

The circulation of information that occurs through such socio-material relations can therefore at times be configured in ways that forms an anti-programme to the enrolment of young people in hip-hop youth work programmes of action. Hoggarth and Smith (2004) note that when a negative experience results in a “perceived quality deficit”, these experiences “become a part of other young people’s perceptions through the grapevine of the peer group” (p. 60). This was the case for one youth trust in my research where some youth of Chinese ethnic heritage were telling their Asian friends not to attend events, due to hostility that they had encountered in their interaction with non-Asian youth attendees. A reputation of it “not being safe for Asians” was circulated. Here, word of mouth practices did not result in the youth work network broadening the nature of the youth they engaged with. Instead, word of mouth became an anti-programme to gaining young people’s trust and interest in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action. Young people who lacked the desire to pass on information, or reported a negative experience to their peers, impeded the development of a connection between other young people and the youth trust concerned.

As mentioned, actors may not act in accordance with the enunciator’s programme of action (Latour, 1986a, 1991). In the circulation of information, actors may change the content of the information spread, or may fail to pass on any information at all. The latter obstacle was encountered by YTE. Mark was disappointed to find that a leader of one of the b-boy crews they were supporting was not passing on information about performance and funding opportunities to his crew members. It was assumed the leader, having dismissed the value of these opportunities, saw no need to pass the information on. Moreover, despite YTE’s involvement in helping his b-boy crew run events, they found that they were not included in the “shout outs” the leader made on his crew’s

Facebook page to those that had helped them put on a given event.⁸⁵ This b-boy therefore did not assist in the circulation of a positive reputation of YTE and its workers amongst his crew's peers and hip-hop community. His enrolment within their publicity assemblage was therefore not enough to counter the "lack of awareness" anti-programme on behalf of the young people they were trying to inform. Later on it was found that despite having enrolled other members of the crew, YTE had not fully enrolled this leader. Consequently, he did not become mobilised into the role of spokesperson (Callon, 1986b) for their youth trust. This example highlights the potential of young people to create disruptions in the webs of relations involved in circulating information. Despite being identified as important actors within the spreading the word assemblage, young people themselves may also constitute an anti-programme for the enrolment of their peers.

Latour (1991, p. 105) comments on how anti-anti-programmes become increasingly complex as new actors are enrolled to counter the anti-programmes of the actors yet to be enlisted into the programme of action. Likewise, Kerr (2010) observed how this was a case when gymnasts and coaches encountered resistance with non-human and human actors as part of their training regimes, and tried to create more effective assemblages. Similarly, in the current study, this was evident in Mark's efforts to overcome the potential fallibility of B-boy Crew A's leader to pass on information, whereby Mark added non-human actors in the form of social media to the youth trust's publicity assemblage. Posting information on the crew's group page on Facebook became a successful strategy for YTE to inform the other b-boys in the crew about practice opportunities. Given he had not enrolled the communications leader of the crew who was vital to spreading information to the other members, this strategy became vital to making other members aware of the availability of these resources.⁸⁶ Latour calls inscriptions such as these "immutable mobiles", to refer to the way in which they enable both the stability and mobility of information (Latour, 1987). Hence, the inclusion of technologies, such as Facebook, within the youth work programme of circulating information worked to enable the reliable diffusion of information.⁸⁷ The non-humans

⁸⁵ In contrast, B-boy Crew B did include YTE in their shout outs on Facebook and at the event itself.

⁸⁶ In the meantime he also worked on developing his relationship and gained the trust of the leader.

⁸⁷ Although the inclusion of these technologies did not always result in information being received in time, for instance young people did not always check cell-phone texts and Facebook updates in time.

within the network can therefore not be overlooked for their part in mobilising young people, both known and unknown, to the youth workers supporting or running a hip-hop activity.

Many trusts enlisted social media into their publicity assemblages so to make young people aware of hip-hop activities and resources on offer. For some youth trusts, enlisting social media technology was a result of following young people's currently preferred methods of communication.⁸⁸ This was evident in the shifts that occurred in the forms of social media enrolled into their circulating information programmes. For instance, youth worker Peter, in an interview in November 2010, describes how they adjusted their assemblage in light of changing youth interests in particular social networking sites:

We used to use Bebo a lot cos a lot of the young guys were using it, but I think nowadays it's a little bit obsolete no one's on there. But Facebook, yep we are using that.

Thus, as a shift in the young people's assemblage occurred, so too did a shift in the youth work programme to overcome "lack of knowledge" anti-programmes. In this way we can see youth workers utilising knowledge of what actors young people were associated with so that they too could engage with those actors to reach and enrol young people.

While texting remained a popular communication device over the course of my fieldwork, online communities played more of a role in the advertising of events and activities, and for making young people aware of resources available to them. This was partly a result of attuning their practices to young people's socio-technical allies, but youth worker's also found their publicity practices shaped by the specificities of these technologies. For instance, Aroha suggested Facebook to her teens who had said they actually most frequently used Bebo, as she wanted to set up a Facebook group. The teens agreed this was a sensible idea, as the group functionality was different on Bebo. Thus the capabilities of the particular social networking site also influenced whether a youth worker enrolled it, and whether young people were amenable to engaging with it.

⁸⁸ In some cases, the form of social media used was a result of youth workers instigating their own preferred medium. See the example of Aroha's use of Facebook below.

Technical actors were mobilised for the ease with which they could spread information. One text message, email, or post on a social networking site could reach large numbers of young people. Youth workers reported getting a greater number of young people to attend meetings and activities when reminders were sent via these technical actors. However, technical actors within the webs of relations involved in circulating information also held the potential to disrupt the flow of information between youth workers and young people. In some cases young people did not check their messages in time. This meant they did not respond to last minute changes to session times or locations, and confusion resulted. Where youth workers were supporting a young person to run a hip-hop event, a lack of response on the part of young people, meant things often had to be organised last minute, resulting in missed opportunities in accessing resources. Hence, the enrolment of technological actors within a youth work assemblage could not guarantee the circulation of information amongst all young people at all times. However, as was seen with human actors, their potential fallibility did not limit youth workers from incorporating them within circulation of information assemblages, as more often than not they allowed for the flow of information.

Furthermore, the inclusion of technologies such as Facebook could be seen to shape the nature of youth work publicity practices. These social networking sites were often mobilised by youth workers so to initiate a central forum for communication, whether by connecting with young peoples' established hip-hop forums, or by setting up their own groups for young people to come together and connect with each other and the workers. For example, YTE's youth workers went from posting as individual "friends" on the b-boy crew's Facebook page in 2009 and 2010, to also adding the b-boys to the youth trusts own group page in early 2011.⁸⁹ Youth workers from a range of youth trusts commonly used Facebook to post information and reminders about the socio-material actors they had available, as well as upcoming activities and events. They also used Facebook as a stage to celebrate the successes of their young people, with the posting of congratulatory statements and links to YouTube clips, media reports or photographs on the activity concerned. These social media publicity actors enabled

⁸⁹ This was done in moderation and at opportune times, such as when a crew had won an award, been in the news, or where they wished to tell the crew about a new opportunity. In this way they could avoid appearing try-hard or pushy.

youth workers to maintain a connection with young people (see also Chapter Seven), and circulate information in a way that was continuously accessible. Social media thus created both immutable and mutable mobiles (Law & Mol, 2001) in that they allowed information about activities and events to be spread, while also allowing it to be modified when young people passed these on to other young people online. For instance, a flier maintained its immutable state, but young people added their own comments when sharing it with others on their own or others Facebook wall.

Facebook's capacity to display diverse media, gave it force in countering anti-programmes of disinterest on the part of young people. Images of posters and fliers were circulated on youth trusts event pages,⁹⁰ as well as on their wall, with some trusts even changing their profile picture to an image of the flier in lieu of an upcoming event. These promotional images would thereby also appear in young people's news feeds, functioning as a timely "reminder".

Moreover, these images added weight to the text announcing the event (see Figure 4.6). In addition, short videos and photographs were sometimes posted of previously run events and activities. These exposed young people to the fun and success had by those participating. As Latour (1987) explains, immutable mobiles enable action at a distance. In this case, young people are exposed to the nature of the activities and gain an understanding of who attends them, without having to have been present at the time the activity took place. Just as Peter found his reputation was built through the circulation of his hip-hop activity via the radio, Facebook supported the building of reputations of hip-hop-youth work activities and events. Thus, by enabling this range of inscriptions to come together, Facebook played a role in countering anti-programmes of indifference or lack of awareness.

⁹⁰ Youth workers also used Facebook to create events pages, which broadened awareness amongst different groups of young people through its circulation amongst their various social networks. They created these either on their own or in collaboration with young people or other youth organisations involved in running the event.



Figure 4.6. A flier image circulated online to advertise a b-boy event run by a b-boy crew in conjunction with a couple of youth trusts.

Social networking sites were enrolled alongside other forms of publicity. Latour (1991) explains that a programme of action becomes more complicated as the result of different actors being added to counter anti-programmes. In the current study, different inscriptions often worked together to reach young people and enrol them into the youth-work-hip-hop programme of action. Fliers, Facebook, and websites often included references to each other. For instance, some youth trust websites contained links to their various Facebook pages. In addition, these contained other contact information such as phone numbers, email addresses, and venue or office locations. These inscriptions mobilised young people along a youth trusts contact networks in a way that

conserved the voluntary nature of young people's participation within youth work-hip-hop programmes of action.

Assembling a brand.

Many youth organisations invested in the marketing strategy of assembling a brand in order to establish or promote awareness of their organisations. They endeavoured to create images of their organisations as places that support the development of hip-hop activities and events that met the standards of the young people they were targeting. The importance of branding work cannot be underestimated in the circulation of information. Hoggarth and Smith (2004) found that young people can easily form inaccurate impressions of the youth service on offer, due to the inclusion or exclusion of certain socio-material actors in marketing and branding arrangements. If young people gain an inaccurate understanding of the service this is likely to result in the service failing to engage the young people it is designed to serve. The branding assemblages are therefore framed as an anti-anti-programme.

As was noted earlier in this chapter, some youth workers participated in branding through the development of their reputations as hip-hop artists. For instance, Peter's work on the radio saw his brand as a hip-hop artist help him in his youth work. While some workers worked on the basis of this reputation alone, some were part of a bigger branding network. This was the case with Aroha. The dance studio with which she was currently undertaking some of her youth work activity had originally begun under a business model. Speaking from her experience as one of the original founders, she deemed the development of a name and logo for the studio, in the form of "Exalt Dance Studios", as critical to the studio's development, as well as its continued ability to enlist young people. "Exalt" was attached to the crew, dance studio, concerts, competitions, and other performances so that the name became seen time and time again. The brand thus drew on the reputations of the instructors and their crews. At the time of my fieldwork, Aroha was interested in winning competitions so that her dance studios were seen as "the best" to train with. Winning competitions therefore played a part in assembling the brand. This brand therefore worked as an anti-anti-programme, engaging young people who were aspiring hip-hop dancers.

As part of their promotion work, some youth trusts also invested in establishing themselves as a brand with young people.⁹¹ This involved establishing a reputation by promoting certain associations with their youth trust. For instance, YTE wanted young people to gain knowledge of the support that they gave hip-hop artists, as well as to establish trust in the way in which they helped young people run their own hip-hop activities and events. Guided by a business model,⁹² and experience in promoting underground music events, the youth worker/administrators invested in circulating their trust's logo with the events and activities they helped young people run. As I have discussed, exposure practices were a vital part of establishing credible hip-hop identities. Here, circulating their brand alongside the hip-hop activities themselves was deemed essential in establishing this association. For YTE, the absence of the circulation of their brand around a b-boy event that they had helped organise signified a missed opportunity for future youth enrolment. Mark resolved to revise their strategy. On their subsequent attempt at running an event, they made sure their staff wore t-shirts with their Youth Trust's logo, and that their logo was also visible on posters and fliers. He also got the MC's at the event to include them in their shout outs, so that audience members could ascertain where to go if they wanted to run an event. This example demonstrates the importance placed on the circulation of these non-humans, as well as verbal communication in circulating awareness and credible reputations of hip-hop support—something that has been noted by other ANT authors (Haxel, 2012; Latour, 1987; 1999b). In this assemblage, the mobilisation of a youth trust's brand alongside a well run b-boy event was important in building an association and thereby forging a reputation as a supporter of credible hip-hop activities; this could work as an anti-anti-programme to indifference and/or lack of trust in the youth organisation's capabilities.

In order to overcome the anti-programmes of indifference or distrust, logos and names had to be tied to actors within hip-hop-youth work assemblages that met young people's standards. These actors could include instructors, other young people who had been supported in their hip-hop activity, or the socio-material actors mobilised by a trust to help young people run a hip-hop event. For instance, in the above example, YTE was

⁹¹ For a discussion of youth trusts efforts to establish their brand with funders, see Chapter Six.

⁹² The administrator/youth workers both came from business backgrounds, which they claimed informed their work within the trust.

associated with non-human actors that they had supplied for the event, such as a PA system and DJ decks, as well as the human actors enrolled. Their alignment with the latter saw the youth trust's brand circulated alongside the young people's brand, where the crews who entered had also invested in creating a brand for themselves. In this way, YTE was able to position itself as supporting non-mainstream hip-hop activity. Youth work proponent Martin (2002) contends that these non-mainstream associations are important if a youth organisation wishes to enrol further young people who wish to maintain an authentic underground identity in a particular sub-culture.

The success of the strategy to build connections with actors that met young people's standards was evident in YTE being approached by a young person after he had seen this b-boy event. This young person indicated that they wished to run a krumping event.⁹³ Thus associations with underground actors through brand circulation were seen to overcome anti-programmes of distrust and a lack of awareness on the part of young people belonging to similar groups. In the same way, youth organisations that aligned their brand with enactments of mainstream popular hip-hop culture recruited young people interested in these forms of hip-hop. The different associations built within a brand thereby enrolled different groups of young people. Therefore, the brand assemblage that constituted an anti-programme for some young people could constitute an anti-anti-programme for others, depending on the form of hip-hop that they were invested in.

Logos were developed and utilised in a variety of ways by different youth trusts. They would circulate with other non-humans such as websites, power points at concerts, fliers, newsletters, business cards, clothing, and vehicles. In this way, non-human actors within the youth work assemblage were enacted as promotional goods. Latour (1987) talks about the importance of choice in alliance building, as what may attract one actor may deter another. The actors enlisted into branding assemblages, and those that were excluded are therefore of note. By restricting the circulation of their logo to certain actors, a youth trust avoids associations with actors that may lead to unwelcome connotations.

⁹³ Krumping is another underground hip-hop dance form. See glossary of terms.

The establishment of a hip-hop reputation therefore involved the enrolment of an assortment of human and non-human actors into the youth work assemblage. Furthermore, the addition of the logo to non-humans added strength to their other promotional efforts, as young people exposed to its circulation in one context could then elicit these meanings in its use within another promotional context, producing an overall additive effect. Branding was therefore an ongoing activity, as a brand required continuous circulation. Its enactment within certain webs of relations could generate and maintain recognition and build associations in young people's minds.

However, not all youth workers and managers chose to connect themselves via these branding practices to the young people who they had supported in their hip-hop aspirations. Kay, the manager of YTA, spoke about her reluctance to promote her youth organisation in this way. She explained this was largely due to her organisation's established reputation of working with "at risk" youth, as she saw drawing attention to YTA's associations with these hip-hop artists as having the potential to tarnish the reputation of the young people themselves. As will also be seen below, a lot of the time decisions in branding were based on such judgments that worked as interest maps. In contrast, those organisations who were engaged in circulating their brand with young people's hip-hop successes did not have a reputation like this to negotiate. Thus, a youth organisation's mandate and consequent reputation could be seen as playing a role in shaping how their promotion assemblage was configured. In this case, the brand is established through a choice not to engage in commercial or conventional branding practices.

Kay discouraged her youth organisation from engaging in promotion of their organisation's b-boy activities through the widespread circulation of their brand with young people's hip-hop activities. Hence, they did not circulate their name or logo at young people's hip-hop events, in media coverage of young people's hip-hop activity, or on their organisation's own website or pamphlets. Instead, this manager encouraged a more targeted exposure approach so to mitigate the risk of enlisting youth who may be attracted "for the wrong reasons" to their b-boy practice sessions:

We do some work in one of the family homes, and in the evenings we pick young people up, there's up to 6 young people in a family home, and we will pick them up and bring them in here, and they get on the computers, and if they are interested and the boys are here break-dancing, you know, it's that really informal introduction. So it's not planned that way, we don't say 'right we are going to [YTA] and you guys are going to break dance'. They just happened to be in the warehouse break dancing. Yeah, and just a slight transition into the warehouse, and you know, just 'oh, I'm a little bit curious', and you see a young person standing at the door and doing a bit of a wobble, and 'oh, I'd quite like to give that a go'. And it's about not insisting, on a young person being involved in something. I think that is why it has worked so well and I think that is why they [B-boy Crew A] have been together so long, because it's out of sheer passion.

Just as some youth workers relied on first-hand exposure of their hip-hop activities to establish their hip-hop identity with young people, exposure techniques were also used by youth trusts to inspire youth to partake in an activity on a voluntary basis. YTA also used b-boys own recruitment methods to see a gradual retention and renewal of committed participants.⁹⁴

A variety of exposure techniques were observed across youth trusts. These were tied to efforts to build a certain type of reputation through association with other actors involved in particular dissemination networks. Here, branding assemblages could work as either anti-programmes, or anti-anti-programmes depending on the young person's preferred associations. Malbon (1999) describes how clubbers in underground scenes selected a club to attend for a night out, partly based on where the event was advertised. Some magazines, for instance, were associated with events that were lower down on their hierarchy of cool. In the current study, while many young people were exposed to the hip-hop activities through promotional activities at their school or church, it was found some youth workers deemed the enrolment of schools and churches within their publicity assemblage as detrimental to their enrolment efforts. Therefore, some actors if enlisted into a publicity assemblage were seen to invoke unwanted associations.

⁹⁴ B-boys explained how they invited young people (who they saw as showing genuine interest in the art form) that they met while dancing in public to come and learn from them at the youth trust.

Mark identified a tension between tapping into the distribution channels of schools, where they could get mass exposure, and that of maintaining an identity outside that of mainstream institutions. Thus, as part of establishing their identity as a supporter of underground hip-hop, YTE initially decided to exclude school and church from their webs of relations. Mark notes:

We have got full respect from the youth, because we don't affiliate with schools. And we purposely don't. Heaps of times it would be really beneficial for us to stand up in front of an assembly and say 'hey we are having these parties, get involved', but as soon as we do that we lose credibility. You know, like school, parents—at 15 years old, are *so* uncool, you know, like whereas graffiti, break dancing, sort of looking a little bit like you are not part of . . .

Similarly, Mark identified the advantage they had with connecting with young people who were put off by youth organisations they knew were church-backed: “Nothing scares the kids away more than being affiliated with one specific rel—we are non-religious”.

Some youth were deterred from an organisation's association with a church or school.⁹⁵ Hence, predicting which actors to exclude from youth work webs of relations so to appeal to certain groups of young people was just as important as figuring out which to include. These interest maps informed decisions as to where a youth trust's name and logo was to be circulated. Branding assemblages thus took many forms. For YTE this choice not to enter all of young people's worlds meant that other channels, such as public exposure and the media, were relied on more heavily at this stage of their youth organization's development. This highlights how interest maps were tied into the creation of branding assemblages in an attempt to form anti-anti-programmes.

⁹⁵For instance, one teenage b-girl explained to me how she was deterred from learning hip-hop dance after watching a performance at her school, despite the high standard of dance, because she knew the dance crew was affiliated with a church and youth group membership. In contrast, many young people readily enrolled themselves into church based hip-hop crews, citing their own Christian background as being highly compatible.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have followed youth workers efforts to engage young people in hip-hop-youth work programmes of action. I have explored how connections are forged between young people and youth work worlds by tracing the diverse webs of socio-material actors that are assembled to overcome diverse anti-programmes. These anti-anti-programmes, traced from the point of view of the youth workers themselves, were as equally diverse and fluid as the anti-programmes they encountered. What becomes evident is the lack of an engagement formula or set arrangement, as assemblages were re-configured in response to the very diverse and often unpredictable anti-programmes. Sorenson (2009) argues that the advantage of an ANT approach is that unexpected effects that sit outside of the original goals of the human actors can be accounted for. With agency in a network being distributed across heterogeneous actors, unexpected effects can emerge (Latour, 1986a; Sorenson, 2009).

In the current study, assemblages that strengthened anti-anti-programmes were at times arrived at through unexpected engagement effects that emerged through a youth workers involvement in particular webs of relations. For instance, youth workers participation in hip-hop practices outside of youth work sites of practice, or the wearing of kicks, were often times not initially part of a youth worker's intentional engagement practices. Engagement work thus consisted of continuous action, where youth workers substituted and associated actors through trial and error in attempts to convince young people to enrol youth work world hip-hop resources into their hip-hop programmes of action, and/or to attend a youth work world hip-hop activity. Like Latour's (1991) example of the development of the hotel key, this shows that the number of actors needed to attach to a programme of action is dependent on the anti-programmes encountered. Though documenting specific anti-programmes and anti-anti-programmes, the complexity of youth work engagement assemblages was revealed.

In addition, by following how young people come to allow themselves to be enrolled into a youth work-hip-hop programme of action, this chapter has revealed the active role of young people within these youth work-hip-hop assemblages. Not only were young people free to enrol or un-enrol themselves from a hip-hop-youth work programme of

action at any point, in some instances they were also vital agents in allowing a connection to be built. As seen in the b-boys use of youth trust spaces, young people's alliances with actors outside of the youth trust meant they could enrol themselves, and also other young people into youth work-hip-hop programmes of action.

This chapter has highlighted something noted by other ANT authors (Arora, 2014; Kerr, 2010; Latour 1991, 1999b)—that it is not only human actors that work to overcome a network's vulnerabilities to anti-programmes. Non-human actors were shown to play an important role in countering anti-programmes impacting the enrolment of young people in hip-hop-youth work assemblages. Through employing ANT, the role of the non-humans in these arrangements to overcome anti-programmes became more noticeable. Unpacking hip-hop-youth work networks of enrolment reveals the entanglement of both human and non-human actors that work to overcome anti-programmes. These assemblages of actors played critical roles in generating interest on behalf of young people to enrol in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action. Within the hip-hop-youth work assemblage, youth work engagement work can thus be understood as the effect of a heterogeneous network—emerging from the contributions made by both the non-human and human actors, acting together and enacting each other in specific ways (Latour, 1991; Law & Mol, 2008; Law & Singleton, 2013).

The significance of non-human actors is not new in ANT informed research (Fenwick, 2010; Kerr, 2014; Mol, 2008; Sorenson, 2009). However, consideration of the role of actors such as clothing, a venue's floor, fliers, and mobile phones, is uncommon in youth work literature. The current study revealed the importance of non-human actors via their contribution to anti-anti-programmes of hip-hop identity, the assemblage of hip-hop spaces, and the circulation of information. Actors such as clothing, the floor, fliers, social media and mobile phones all impacted on whether an engagement assemblage was to work as an anti-programme or anti-anti-programme. When examining these actors' roles within various engagement assemblages, it became clear that their role as an engagement tool cannot be pre-determined. The contribution of a particular actor to an anti-anti-programme was a result of its enactment within specific webs of relations (Law & Singleton, 2013). Here, the actor itself afforded certain engagement practices and constrained others, while other actors also impacted on its engagement capacities.

For instance, a small floor space could impact upon the floor's capacity to be a b-boy practice space, but this depended on its relation within specific socio-material associations. In this case, the presence of other young people, or the availability of other alternative practice sites, impacted on the b-boys enrolment of a particular youth trusts' floor space. Here the shifts in assemblages the b-boys were a part of outside a specific youth trust impacted upon whether a youth trust's interestment efforts were successful. This highlights the contingency of hip-hop-youth work engagement assemblages.

Moreover, actors that had previously accrued connotations within young people's hip-hop worlds shaped their own use within youth work-hip-hop engagement webs of relations. This was first evident in the example of youth workers' kicks. Kicks became an engagement resource when enacted within youth work webs of relations with young people invested in hip-hop, particularly as the brand and style of shoe held particular hip-hop meaning. Furthermore, it also became clear that, as discussed in Chapter Three, young people's investment in a particular kind of commercial or underground form of hip-hop shaped whether a particular assemblage was of interest. Youth workers' assumptions regarding young people's alliances with certain actors were also important, whether it was a young person's social or technical connections. Youth workers' interest maps are therefore seen to play a role in determining what associations were to be made between particular actors so to configure an anti-anti-programme. This was particularly significant in the choice of where a logo was to be circulated. The links made between various socio-material actors were shown to impact on whether particular groups of young people were to form an interest in a specific hip-hop-youth work programme of action.

While the literature on youth engagement alludes to the importance of material actors, such as those that constitute "youth friendly" spaces (Blaustein & Peters, 2011; Tanner et al., 2014) or youth workers self-presentation (Wood & Hine, 2009), these fail to fully acknowledge their agency in mediating connections between young people and youth work networks.⁹⁶ In contrast, by taking an ANT approach, I have explored in more depth

⁹⁶ While the physical features of certain venues used for youth activities have been documented as inhibiting some activities for youth taking place (Douglas, 1991; Jeffs & Smith, 2005; Smith, 1994; Young,

how non-human materials participate in youth work engagement practices. By attending to how enrolment practices are the “result of a symmetric interplay of humans and materials” (Sorenson, 2009, p. 5), I have shown that non-humans have the capacity to shape youth workers engagement practices. They were seen to play a role both in the formation of anti-programmes, and also in the anti-anti-programmes used to counter these. Whether it was materials in a space that demanded monetary payment, or the inclusion of technology such as Facebook, the adoption of non-humans within an engagement assemblage was revealed to shape engagement practices in a way that was not wholly determined by the youth workers themselves.

In sum, utilising ANT’s concept of translation, this chapter together with Chapter Three explored the mobilisation and recruitment of young people in youth work worlds. I have explored slices of practice that reveal the human and non-human actors that are mobilised in the youth work network in order to create an interest on the part of young people in engaging in hip-hop activities within a youth trust assemblage. Some compromises in young people’s ideal hip-hop assemblages were also revealed. The following chapter further explores how compromises in youth hip-hop preferences were made and considers how new hip-hop interests were created through exploring how young people’s hip-hop preferences were at times edited within the youth work network so to avoid hip-hop bads.

1999), overall, the literature retains an emphasis on the symbolic elements of these spaces, and how these may constrain engagement efforts (Barton & Barton, 2007; Smith, 1994).

Chapter Five: Handling Hip-Hop Bads

Introduction

Discussions concerning hip-hop often tend to focus on controversy. Hip-hop, however, has been associated with both goods and bads (see Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008; Travis & Deepak, 2011). Indeed, those who work with youth using hip-hop music acknowledge hip-hop's diverse content and messages, and offer ideas about how practitioners and educators can mobilise particular hip-hop songs to draw on the positive messages within hip-hop music (Elligan, 2004; Kobin & Tyson, 2006; Travis & Deepak, 2011). While hip-hop's defenders have celebrated the enactment of goods such as youth expression and empowerment (Clay, 2006; Henderson, 2010; Saw, Tamati, & Waiti, 2004), critiques of hip-hop have, however, focused on its association with bads such as violence, misogyny and drug use (Chen, Miller, Grube, Waiters, 2006; Gore, 2003; Wingood, et al., 2003). Such multiplicity has led some commentators to argue that hip-hop is a complex entity that has been and can be enacted in many different ways (Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008; Shomari, 1995; Watkins, 2005).

The acknowledgement of hip-hop's association with both goods and bads lead to a call for more attention to be given to how hip-hop is assembled, and for the different versions of hip hop to be held to account for their contribution to individual behaviour and community effects (Asante, 2005; Rose, 2008; Watkins, 2005). However, as I discussed in Chapter One, little is known about how hip-hop goods and bads are managed within youth work activities. This chapter addresses this gap in the literature by examining how hip-hop-youth work activities are assembled.

This task is not simple. It has been noted that the complex relationships between goods and bads within hip-hop need to be considered by those wishing to mobilise hip-hop in their work with young people (Newman, 2007; Travis & Deepak, 2011). What is considered good, such as socially conscious rap, may not hold the same goods for young people. For instance, a study on young people's responses to different genres of rap music reported that young people found hope in the themes in commercial rap music. In

contrast, these young people interpreted the themes in socially conscious rap, preferred by their teachers and counsellors, as disempowering, as they were seen to present their position as that of “victims whose only hope is a massive and unrealistic social change” (Newman, 2007, p. 131). Such diverse interactions with music lyrics, and different hip-hop genres, must be considered when mobilising certain versions of hip-hop to work with young people (Newman, 2007; Travis & Deepak, 2011). One key contribution this chapter makes is to build on this thinking by exploring how such complexities were handled in the assemblage of youth work-hip-hop activities.

ANT sensibilities enable the exploration of the “editing” work that is involved in the translation of hip-hop into youth work networks. From this perspective, goods and bads are understood as being embedded within particular socio-material practices (Mol, 2010). In the appropriation of hip-hop actors and practices within youth work activities, youth workers were seen to attempt to mitigate hip-hop bads and strengthen the enactment of hip-hop goods. However, they did not work alone. Tensions between different sets of goods and bads were handled through the collective work of actors.

Therefore, this chapter explores how hip-hop controversies were negotiated within the youth work sites of practice studied. I describe slices of practice in which attempts were made to configure hip-hop to enrol young people in hip-hop-youth work activities while avoiding the enactment of particular hip-hop bads of concern to others within the youth work network. In doing so, I examine some of the complexities inherent in supporting youth hip-hop interests. I draw on ANT sensibilities that enable the exploration of the editing work that is involved in the translation of hip-hop into youth work networks. In following the actors that come together to enact hip-hop goods and avoid hip-hop bads, while still creating activities of interest to young people, this chapter further unpacks the complexities involved in assembling hip-hop-youth work activities. I begin by exploring the bads associated with certain aspects of hip-hop that are commonly identified and circulated in the literature and public debate. These hip-hop assemblages are unpacked to highlight the complex relationship between goods and bads in the enactment of hip-hop, and to set a foundation for considering both the multiplicity and malleability of hip-hop enacted within youth work sites of practice. I then follow how hip-hop activities were translated into youth work practice by tracing the editing of hip-

hop actors and practices that took place. I argue that this process of editing sees solutions arrived at that enable the interests of both young people and youth work stakeholders to be served, thus enabling the assemblage of hip-hop-youth work activities.

Exploring Goods and Bads with an ANT Sensibility

An ANT sensibility acknowledges that there is complexity around what can be considered good or bad. As Mol, Moser and Pols (2010) suggest, what is good or bad is not always clear or unambiguous. Moreover, goodness and badness “may be intertwined” (Mol, Moser, Pols, 2010, p. 12). Studies of the relations between different goods within care practices reveal that pursuing goodness is a complex task (Mol, 2010; Mol, Moser, & Pols, 2010). This is evident in Mol’s (2010) study of goods relevant to food practices in a rest home. On closer inspection of these practices she shows different goods have “complex relations between them” (p. 228). In some practices different goods can come together to improve the overall quality of care provided, while some may clash and be held in tension. For example, Mol describes a clash that occurred in the resthome between the nursing practice of feeding residents individually so they gained the “nutritional value” of food, and the provision of “cosiness” associated with the social practice of dining (p. 218).

The after-ANT principle of multiplicity gives rise to “the claim that there are many realities rather than one” (Law, 2004, p. 162). An object is understood as enacted through different sets of socio-material practices, producing co-existing versions or realities (Law, 2009). When reality is understood in this way, the various enactments of a particular entity can be explored as “different ways of doing the good” (Mol, 2002 p. 172). In their writing around care practices, Mol, Moser and Pols (2010) suggest that ethnographic research aimed at producing detailed descriptions of practice may provide new questions around qualities and values if it is based on considering:

What is sought, fostered, or hoped for, then and there: what is performed as good. Likewise, we are curious about what, by contrast, is avoided, resolved, or excluded: what is performed as bad (Mol, Moser & Pols, 2010, p. 12).

Similarly, Harbers, Mol, and Stollmeijer (1999, p. 12) state:

Instead of an investigation that sets out to find to what extent *given standards* are met, the question to be explored is which standards are set up in the day to day practice of caring. What *goods* are strived after in practice, which *bad*s are painstakingly avoided?

An ANT sensibility, therefore, allows us to consider what youth, youth workers, and hip hop artists, are endeavouring to nurture and what they are trying to avoid.

Studies of the “logic of care” in practice refer to the continuing processes of “tinkering” and “of attentive experimentation” to improve the quality of care provided (Mol, Moser, Pols, 2010, p. 13; see also Mol, 2008; Winance, 2010). The co-existence of different goods, and the tensions that are often a result, require negotiation and compromise, or as Mol (2009) suggests, “attuning everything to everything else” (p. 1757). This process requires collective work. An example of this can be seen in Mol’s (2008) example of a diabetes patient who does not keep to the blood- monitoring regimen that he and his doctor had planned (testing five times one day per week). It is discovered that testing every day is impractical in his workplace, and so they revisit this initial plan after it fails, deciding to test once a week for three weeks instead (Mol, 2008, 2009). Instead of giving up, the task became that of figuring out how to better align “technology, daily habits and people’s skills and propensities” (Mol, 2008, p. 53). To complicate matters, the variables to be considered are subject to change; arriving at a good arrangement requires ongoing processes of adjustment between different entities (Mol, 2008, p. 54). Deciding what is good therefore emerges within practice and is not fixed (Mol, 2008).

In a study by Winance (2010), the tinkering within an arrangement between a person and wheelchair highlights the importance of adjustment and compromise to meet the needs of the collective:

The *good* is finding the arrangement that works; the *perfect* is an arrangement that is likely to break down, with the different components falling apart, because the perfect is what suits the individual alone and apart from the others— humans or non-humans. . . . The most suitable arrangement is always a compromise (pp. 110-

111).

Winance (2010) points out that in this case caring is the work of a collective. A single good becomes less good when pursued on its own, since it would result in an assemblage likely to break apart. Similarly, in Mol's (2010) study on food practices in a rest home, she noted that:

The 'overall' quality of nourishing care does not depend on the addition of bits of good along a single scale, but on tinkering with *different goods* that map onto different dimensions (pp. 216-217).

Following how goods are "handled in practices" (Mol, 2010, p. 224) can thus uncover complexities and ambivalence (Mol, Moser, Pols, 2010; Winance, 2006). These insights of complexity within the care practices context can also be applied to unravel the editing practices that occur within hip-hop-youth work assemblages.

However, the tinkering to deal with tensions between goods does not always take place (DeNora, 2013; Mol, 2008). For instance, DeNora describes how the Vivaldi music played in Penn Station was done in pursuit of a specific party's goods—in this case the police and the mayor's office, who were seeking to create a good space for commuters. For others, such as the homeless wishing to shelter there, this practice can be understood as doing bad. In this context the music was a constant reminder that they were not welcome—its mobilisation understood as a policing or exclusion device (DeNora, 2013, p. 129). Furthermore, tinkering efforts do not always have a "happy ending" (Mol, 2010, p. 230) and may result in bads being enacted. Thus, when clashes between goods occur, one good may take precedence over another (DeNora, 2013; Mol, 2010). For Mol (1999), these are matters of ontological politics, where some realities are made more real and others less.

In relation to music practices, DeNora (2013) notes that "goods are relational, flexible entities – good for some things, good for some people" (p. 128). DeNora (2013) suggests that questions to be asked of any good should include: "goodness for whom, what, how, when, where, why and according to whom?" (p. 131). Such questions appear pertinent to hip-hop in youth work contexts. As mentioned in chapter one, Pardue (2004) in his

study of hip-hop workshops run within a youth correctional facility, found the government's censorship of forms of hip-hop expression interfered with the good of political expression sought by the local hip-hop community and young people within the youth justice facility. From an ANT perspective, hip-hop goods and bads can be seen as relational—as hip-hop's "goodness" is dependent on the context of its appropriation and the different judgement criteria of the various actors involved (DeNora, 2013, p. 126).

How hip-hop bads were handled within youth work assemblages can be explored through tracing how hip-hop socio-material practices are attuned to fit within a given youth work situation. This is not a straightforward matter, as different goods may be at stake within each arrangement; arriving at a good that suits a variety of the actors within the assemblage requires work. In exploring how these tensions are handled I follow how actors tinker with hip-hop. As Mol, Moser and Pols (2010) describe in relation to studies on caring practices:

Care implies a negotiation about how different goods might coexist in a given, specific, local practice. Though 'negotiation' is not quite the right term, as it calls up verbal argumentation. In practice, however, seeking a compromise between different 'goods' does not necessarily depend on talk, but can also be a matter of practical tinkering, of attentive experimentation (p. 13).

Tensions between goods are negotiated via actors engaging in a process of collective tinkering. I call this process "editing" to capture the selection and exclusion of actors that enables the adaptation or re-configuring of actors within hip-hop-youth work assemblages to take place. The result of this editing or tinkering is that certain hip-hop realities are strengthened while others are weakened: some hip-hop practices are enabled, while others are constrained from being enacted within youth work sites of hip-hop activity.

Some youth work literature points to the dilemma that can occur when youth service providers have concerns regarding some elements of a youth culture, but wish to incorporate elements of the culture's activities into their work so to engage with youth, or build on youth strengths that may be realised within the sub-culture activities (Hirsch, 2005; Martin, 2002). It has been suggested that when a youth culture includes

problematic aspects, such as violence, there is a responsibility to prohibit these “tendencies of the culture” (Hirsch, 2005, p. 34). In addition, the youth work literature also points to the tensions that can occur between youth interests and the interests or obligations of adult-managed institutions. This literature also suggests that compromises are made (Flowers, 1998; White, 1990). Ethical issues arise in relation to balancing youth freedom and responsibility with various youth work agendas of control (Jeffs & Banks, 2010).

ANT offers a different way to think about the compromises and dilemmas that take place between actors (Mol, 2008; Winance, 2010). Compromise is not about one actor’s wishes winning out over others. Instead, as Mol (2008) found, compromise is about the tinkering that occurs so that actors may come together to produce a new assemblage that suits their diverse aims and needs. Other actors that the individual is attached to must also be taken into consideration to arrive at a good assemblage (Winance, 2006, 2010). Similarly, within the youth work-hip-hop network, “goodness is locally assembled” through tinkering practices that align hip-hop assemblages with “the things that facilitate” actors judgements, such as aesthetic tastes, social roles, materials, and institutional norms and practices (DeNora, 2013, p. 131).

Hip-hop Goods and Bads

As noted earlier in this chapter, some common hip-hop assemblages are criticised as being associated with bads and are the subject of controversy (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1996; Gore, 2003; Rose, 1994). However, not all hip-hop assemblages are judged as bad, and many goods are also identified (see Elligan, 2012; Henderson, 2010; Rose, 2008).⁹⁷ The relationships between goods and bads within hip-hop are complex. It is possible to argue that any given hip-hop assemblage enacts various sets of goods and bads. This concurrent enactment of goods and bads inevitably results in tensions that have to be managed within a youth work context.

⁹⁷ See Appendix One for an overview of common goods identified in the literature, as well as by the youth workers and young people in the current study.

Unpacking some of the entanglements between goods and bads within hip-hop sets up a foundation for considering the efforts made to avoid hip-hop bads within youth work-hip-hop initiatives. Through looking at the practices and actors associated with different goods and bads, a space is set up to examine the appropriation of certain hip-hop assemblages and/or the editing of actors within these assemblages that takes place within different youth work sites of practice.

Hip-hop bads.

The controversy around hip-hop music has played out in both public debate and in the academic literature regarding the impacts hip-hop music has on young people and the wider community (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1996; Gore, 2003; McWhortner, 2003). This controversy is also evident in the way in which graffiti has been framed as a community concern in many countries, including New Zealand (Castleman, 2004; Dickinson, 2008; Ministry of Justice, 2008; Ministry of Youth Development, 2009b). The following discussion unpacks the sets of actors associated with bads within hip-hop music and graffiti assemblages. This provides a base to then consider how these hip-hop bads were avoided through the exclusion of these actors and practices within the assemblage of youth work-hip-hop activities documented within this research.

Gangsta rap.

As noted in Chapter One, the hip-hop assemblages often critiqued as enacting hip-hop bads are those that are part of the so-called gangsta genre of hip-hop music (Elligan, 2012; Kubrin, 2005a, 2005b). With its “gangsta-pimp-ho trinity” (Rose, 2008, p. 5), gangsta rap has the capacity to enact many bads in any one enactment. As such, gangsta rap has been blamed as a cause of individual and social ills (Rose, 2008; McWhortner, 2003). It is the subject of many matters of concern, with links being made to drug use, violence, crime, gang membership, misogyny, materialism, and indigenous cultural loss (Asante, 2008; Quinn, 2005; Miranda & Claes, 2004; Wingood, et al., 2003; Zemke-White, 2000).

Being gangsta.

Gangsta rap is associated with controversial activities, and raises concerns concerning its impact on youth behaviour and culture. For example, the mythologising of gangs or gang-like activities (Kubrin, 2005a), partaking in criminal behaviour (Kubrin, 2005b) and the effects on communities (Asante, 2008; Elligan, 2012; Rose, 2008). Gangsta rap is commonly represented as thug life in the ghetto, marked by violence, risk of murder, anti-police sentiment, and the doing or selling of drugs (Quinn, 2005; Ogbar, 2007; Zemke-White, 2000). Gangsta rap assemblages such as rap music, music videos, and cd covers, mobilise actors such as clothing, guns, knives, police, jail, hospitals, bullets, cars, money, alcohol, cocaine, and marijuana in the performance of being gangsta or thug (Ogbar, 2007). Rap-artists talk about their gangsta lifestyle from a personal point of view, often told through narratives, bragging, and the frequent use of profanities (Quinn, 2005; Price, 2006).

Hip-hop's connection with gangs, as enacted within gangsta rap, means hip-hop as a broader genre of music is often seen as intrinsically linked to gang life (Price, 2006). Gangsta clothing, language, and demeanour are frequently incorporated into hip-hop performances (Kubrin, 2005b; Price, 2006;). As mentioned in Chapter One, although hip-hop and gang life are not synonymous, they are not always exclusive either. Within the gangsta hip-hop assemblage, an actor such as a blue bandana can convey gang affiliation, in turn enacting a gangsta identity. Thus, hip-hop webs of relations can interact with gang webs of relations (Change, 2005; Price, 2006; Quinn, 2005). Gang members and gang affiliates reinforce perceptions of the link between hip-hop and a gangsta lifestyle when they make hip-hop music (Quinn, 2005), and/or draw on other forms of American street gang expression, such as hip-hop style clothing, music and tagging (Eggleston, 2000; Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Zemke-White, 2000). One such example of this was seen in New Zealand when one urban gang, the Killa Beez, set up their own recording studio and produced rap music (Gilbert, 2013). The video for their song "Put your colours on" was criticised by police as a recruitment video for the gang ("Rapper Young Sid", 2008).

“Bling”.

The performance of gangsta rap also includes displays of conspicuous consumption. The performance of this wealth, and the lifestyle it allows, are displayed through the bringing together of high-price items: jewellery, kicks, label sports wear, champagne, expensive cars, boats, mansions, or cribs, to name a few. These non-human actors are frequently portrayed in music videos alongside the rapper, and are referred to in rap lyrics (Conrad, Dixon, & Zhang, 2009). Such items are the symbol of the successful hustler. Within gangsta rap, it is the nature of the hustle, or use of one's street smarts to make one's way through any means necessary, that is the source of the most controversy (Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008).

Success in drug dealing or pimping is often credited with the acquisition of these high-price non-human actors, and they are flaunted as evidence of being at the top of the “game” (Quinn, 2005). Money and bling are therefore significant actors in the assemblage in that they mobilise people to get involved in hustling bads that form part of the gangsta lifestyle. As such, gangsta rap is criticised for depicting a false reality of lifestyles to be aspired to (Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008). Within their critiques of the institutional racism that sees African Americans imprisoned at high rates for drug crimes, as well as the political and socio-economic roots of ghetto realities, commentators such as Asante (2008) and Rose (2008) argue that engaging in violence or drug dealing only further condemns black youth to a life of prison and unemployment.

Misogyny.

The rapper's sexual prowess, and, or power over women as a “pimp” or “playa”, is also a dominant assemblage in gangsta rap (Price, 2006; Sharpely-Whiting, 2007; Rose, 2008). This is conveyed in rap lyrics which refer to women as “hoes” and “bitches”, and where women are represented as the objects of men's sexual desires, or success as a “pimp.”⁹⁸ Women are objectified and reduced to body parts, not only lyrically, but also through the camera lens. For instance, camera angles objectify the body, by framing body parts, such

⁹⁸ In its worst manifestations, gangsta rap is a source of violent misogyny, with references being made to violence against women in forms such as gang rape, forced abortion, and even murder (Sharpely-Whiting, 2007).

as the “booty” (Watkins, 2005). The music video contributes to the misogynistic lyrical content, through drawing particular actors together in associations that sees the enactment of men’s power over women. One common feature of these arrangements is the absence of clothing on women, where women are scantily clad, often in bikinis or hot pants. Within the music video they are often positioned beside the rapper, alongside other women, on a bed, or in the pool, riding in the Cadillac, or partying in the club. In contrast to the women, the rapper pimp is fully suited, dressed in lots of bling. The association of these actors thereby sets up a relationship of pimp and ho (Rose, 2008; Sharpely-Whiting, 2007). The lyrics are thus further enhanced through this assemblage of female and male bodies within the music video. The camera is an important actor here in the objectifying of women’s bodies, as it draws actors together to create associations that reduce women to object’s of men’s desires (Emerson, 2002).

Gangsta music and music videos are therefore actors that, when circulated within young people’s hip-hop worlds, are cited to have damaging effects (Sharpely-Whiting, 2007; Stephens & Few, 2007a, 2007b; West, 2009; Wingood et al., 2003).⁹⁹ Actors that may be deemed harmless in other situations, such as a bikini, in association with other actors in the gangsta assemblage contribute to the degrading of women as showing skin contributes to the assertion of men’s power (Law & Singleton, 2013). The lack of variety of roles and positions for women within gangsta rap assemblages is also identified as problematic, as this results in a shortage of empowering images for young women (Watkins, 2005). For instance, women’s dance moves depicted in gangsta music videos are limited to sexually provocative shaking, winding, and grinding (Price, 2006). And, as Rose (2004) suggests, lyrics describing women outside of this sexual role often present women as disloyal and money motivated.

Graffiti.

As mentioned in Chapter One, graffiti writing is often judged controversial due to the inclusion of actors into the graffiti assemblage that are considered to be private or public property, such as trains and walls (Docuynan, 2000). Through a legal network of

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the damaging effects of misogyny within hip-hop music and videos see Chapter One.

statutes and enforcement agencies,¹⁰⁰ with penalties ranging from fines and community service to prison sentences, graffiti is enacted as vandalism (Ministry of Justice, 2008). In New Zealand graffiti is framed as a crime within government documents such as the STOP (Stop Tagging Our Place) Strategy, where it is also presented as a threat to tourism, business, and the well-being of communities (see Ministry of Justice, 2008). These bads emerge through associations that are made between graffiti and crime, where it is argued that graffiti is communicating or inciting social disorder (Dickinson, 2008; Docuayan, 2000; Ministry of Justice 2008; Rose, 1994; White, 2001). Moreover, Docuayan, (2000) and White (2001) note that controversies around graffiti, particularly associations between graffiti and crime, can result in a compromised sense of public personal safety, alongside contributing to declines in the economic growth of an area where graffiti is prevalent.

White (2001) identifies a number of key arguments that represent graffiti as bad. These arguments include those that: associate graffiti with gangs; understand graffiti through the “broken window” theory; perceive graffiti as a threat to commercial spaces or those in authority; and that position graffiti as “visual pollution” that is costly to the community to clean up (p. 258). In New Zealand, and other countries such as the US, Australia, and the UK, such understandings inform legal and community graffiti interventions (Halsey & Young, 2002; Rowe & Hutton, 2012; White, 2001). For example, the spray paint can, an “everyday” actor key to graffiti practices, has been problematized within legal webs of relations. The Summary Offences Act 1981 restricts the sale of spray-paint cans to minors (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 18).¹⁰¹ This legislation requires businesses, parents and schools to ensure “that spray-paint cans and other common graffiti implements are stored and disposed of appropriately so that they don’t fall into the wrong hands” (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 18). Such measures and anti-graffiti

¹⁰⁰ In New Zealand, graffiti is enacted as a vandalism offence under The Summary Offences Act 1981 (as amended in 2008) and the Crimes Act 1961 (Ministry of Justice, 2008). The STOP Strategy bases its definition of graffiti vandalism on the Summary Offences Act 1981: “According to the Summary Offences Act 1981, graffiti vandalism is the act of a person damaging or defacing any building, structure, road, tree, property or other thing by writing, drawing, painting, spraying or etching on it, or otherwise marking it,–
(a) without lawful authority; and
(b) without the consent of the occupier or owner or other person in lawful control’.” (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 6)

¹⁰¹ The Summary Offences Act was amended in 2008 to restrict the sale of spray cans to those over 18 years of age. Importantly for educators working with youth, it does allow “a defence if an approved form of identification is sighted (or if the seller is an educational board)” (Ministry of Justice, 2008, p. 19).

strategies aim to avoid the enactment of graffiti bads associated with youth vandalism (Ministry of Justice, 2008; Rowe & Hutton, 2012; White, 2001).

Drugs and alcohol.

Hip-hop music contains many references to drugs, such as “words or phrases that refer to specific drugs; drug use behaviours (e.g., snorting or injecting); selling drugs; drug paraphernalia (e.g., pipes and bongs, needles, etc.) and altered states of feeling related to drugs such as being high or feeling mellow” (Herd, 2008, p. 170). Marijuana is the most commonly depicted drug, but reference is also made to cocaine and ecstasy (Diamond, Bermudez, & Schensul 2006; Herd, 2008).¹⁰² The inclusion of drug and alcohol actors within these hip-hop assemblages is often problematised as a form of anti-social behaviour, associated with violent acts and health risks (Herd, 2008; Wingood, 2003).

Drugs and drug dealing feature prominently within accounts of the gangsta lifestyle (Herd, 2008; Quinn, 2005). These accounts are often criticised for glorifying drug and alcohol use (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1996; Miranda & Claes, 2004; Wingood, et al., 2003). In these hip-hop music assemblages, references to drugs and expensive liquors are depicted alongside other bling, within the context of a nightclub, house party, or luxury vehicle to highlight the wealth and success of the rapper. Drugs and hard liquors are also framed as a means to feel good, to party and to relax. Herd (2008) notes that alcohol and drugs also contribute to hip-hop enactments of misogyny, as they are described as a means for men to get women to perform sexual acts.

Hip-hop also becomes associated with drugs and alcohol, when hip-hop music, dance, and graffiti writing, are enacted as part of a wider assemblage of social or partying activity, and/or inducing a creative mood (Rowe & Hutton, 2012; Thom, 2004). Youth workers were aware of the potential for these substances to be consumed within young people’s hip-hop activities outside of youth work worlds.¹⁰³ For example, hip-hop artist-cum-youth worker Shane described how smoking marijuana was a common practice in the local graffiti scene in Christchurch. Similarly, as part of their music practices,

¹⁰² While other drugs feature in rap lyrics, they do so far less frequently (Herd, 2008).

¹⁰³ This was corroborated by “reformed” young people I spoke to.

underground music production communities in the local hip-hop scene in Christchurch often smoked marijuana and took illicit substances, such as prescription drugs and ecstasy. Some of these actors have been problematized through legal strategies that enact possession as a crime (see the Misuse of Drugs Act, 1975). While alcohol and “legal highs”, such as party pills and synthetic cannabis, are licit substances, like spray cans, they are enacted within legal webs of relations that enforced age restrictions (New Zealand Drug Foundation, n.d).¹⁰⁴ In New Zealand, alcohol and legal highs in particular have become issues prominent in discussions and actions regarding youth health and well-being (Bell, 2014; McNeilly, 2011; Ministry of Health, 2002; New Zealand Law Commission, 2010; Tiffen & Tapaleao, 2010; “Underage Drinking”, 2011).¹⁰⁵ Other substances, such as solvents used for huffing, were of concern at the time of this study, with youth deaths reported in Christchurch (Ministry of Justice, 2012).

Tracing the entanglement of bads and goods.

To say any given hip-hop assemblage is simply good or bad would be to hide the many complexities at play. Within each of the hip-hop assemblages I have identified so far, there are both goods and bads. The actor-enactment approach considers how an entity can be multiple, and sometimes even contradictory things (Law & Mol, 2008). Using ANT methods of following practices and actors, hip-hop can be seen to be enacted within diverse webs of relations, each producing different effects, or goods and bads.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Legal highs are new forms of drugs such as party pills, designer drugs, or synthetics. These are now regulated in New Zealand under the Psychoactive Substances Act (2013) (McCullough, Wood, & Zorn, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ “Legal highs” became the subject of public concern and calls for regulation in late 2012 when the widespread availability and use of synthetic cannabis drew media attention. Concern was raised over the public health risks of these drugs. Health professionals, consumers and their family members reported adverse effects including addiction, health problems, paranoia and in some cases long-term psychosis (Bell, 2014; McNeilly, 2011). These actors posed a number of threats to young people and the wider community and their inclusion within commercial assemblages became questioned, leading to the introduction of the Psychoactive Substances Act (2013) (McCullough, Wood, & Zorn, 2013).

¹⁰⁶ For further examples of the entanglement between hip-hop goods and bads see Appendix One.

Whose goods?

Whether a hip-hop assemblage is deemed good or bad depends on what kinds of goods are sought by the different actors involved. For instance, while many actors may consider drug use as detrimental to youth health and well-being (Ministry of Health, 2002), for some young people drug or alcohol actors are required as part of the assemblage in order to achieve certain hip-hop experiences or artistic production goods (Rowe & Hutton, 2012; Thom, 2004). This study found that some MCs enlisted drugs and alcohol to help them in their hip-hop performances, as these actors aided in the conceptualising of lyrics and getting up the confidence to perform in front of others. As in other music scenes (Malbon, 1999), drugs and alcohol can also be incorporated into hip-hop assemblages to seek experiences of relaxing and having fun. These goods may also form an integral part of forming and maintaining connections between participants (Thom, 2004). Therefore, it is possible to argue that taking alcohol or drug actors out of an assemblage in order to avoid certain bads of concern to one set of actors (youth workers) may see other goods not realised for other actors (some of the youth) within the assemblage. Youth workers therefore have to consider what and whose goods are at stake when excluding and including particular actors within a hip-hop assemblage.

Hip-hop as fluid.

Hip-hop actors and practices are often ambiguous in that they can be judged and experienced differently by different actors. Particular hip-hop community standards that determine what hip-hop participants consider good may not be shared with individuals positioned within different webs of relations. As Mol (2010) suggests, the enactment of goods for different actors is reliant on many different contingencies related to the presence or absence of certain actors and practices. It therefore follows that the same actors can enact both goods and bads due to the multiple webs of relations of which they are a part (Mol, 2010). This also means hip-hop bads and goods can be enacted within a single enactment where various webs of relations intersect.

Exploring some of the various webs of relations, in which graffiti is enacted, illustrates how this can occur. Within many graffiti artists' web of relations, what is considered good "is shaped by nuanced judgments relating to the perceived legitimacy of the venue,

the physical challenges overcome to write on that location and the aesthetic value of the graffiti itself” (Rowe & Hutton, 2012, p. 80).¹⁰⁷ The graffiti writer appreciates many goods in the execution of a piece that elude some viewers (Rowe & Hutton, 2012; White, 2001). This sees different experiences and judgments of graffiti goods and bads emerge.

Aesthetic judgments are also contingent on the assemblage of which the graffiti is a part. For instance, Chang (2005) comments that some graffiti is enacted as high art goods through its incorporation within art gallery spaces and private collections through its translation onto canvas, or the reconfiguring of conventional art spaces to display graffiti art. Within the web of relations of the art market, graffiti art also gains monetary value, and may be translated into a commodity (Dickens, 2010). Docuynan (2000) notes this is very different from graffiti’s enactment within legal webs of relations that do not take aesthetic goods or the reputation of a graffiti writer into account. Thus, through the various webs of relations in which graffiti is enacted, different goods and bads emerge.

Similarly, with rap music, ambiguities in defining an album, artist, or song as bad or good have been identified (Elligan, 2004; Travis & Deepak, 2011). These ambiguities also result from the relationships between different webs of associations in which one actor is enacted (Mol, 2002). Elligan (2004) notes that many rap artists’ have produced a range of songs, and therefore have work that crosses different genres of rap music. Some so called “gangsta rappers” are enacted in and contribute to multiple hip-hop assemblages, some of which are commonly labelled as positive, and others that are considered controversial (Elligan, 2004; Ogbur, 2007). In Tupac Shakur’s case,¹⁰⁸ some of his songs retain no or few anti-social messages and representations, while his other songs, and his performances as an actor in certain films, enact many gangsta bads (Quinn, 2005; Ogbur, 2007). The multiplicity of hip-hop practices in which an actor, such as a rap artist, participates has been what has enabled controversial hip-hop artists to be

¹⁰⁷ For instance, graffiti artists recognise the skill required to form a piece, acknowledging the years of practice it takes to master a spray can in ways to produce colour transitions and fine lines (Docuynan, 2000; Rowe & Hutton, 2012).

¹⁰⁸ Tupac Shakur was an MC and actor. His music was critiqued for containing themes relating to crime, misogyny, violence and death. However, his music has also been acclaimed, partly for its themes around inner city hardships and social problems, voicing a philosophy said to derive from his parent’s Black Panther Party roots (Price, 2006).

included in therapeutic interventions. Here the young person's established interest in the artist can be directed to other songs within which the artist is a part (Elligan, 2004; Veltre & Hadley, 2012).¹⁰⁹

Interferences.

The multiple webs of associations through which an entity is enacted can also interfere with each other (Mol, 2002). In the case of graffiti, where graffiti is enacted as an illegal activity can impact upon the nature of the goods experienced by the graffiti artist. For some writers, the goods of excitement and fun are enhanced through the adrenaline rush that occurs through practices of evading authorities (Rowe & Hutton, 2012; White, 2001). It follows that enacting a legal form of graffiti will see these goods compromised. Producing graffiti on a canvas or legal wall therefore produces a different set of goods and bads to that which takes place on surfaces where consent has not been granted. As with the inclusion of drug and alcohol actors, this highlights that youth workers have to consider how to handle the various goods at stake when changing actors within a particular hip-hop assemblage. This is particularly important when considering how to maintain the voluntary enrolment of young people within the hip-hop-youth work assemblage.

Translating bads into goods.

Some hip-hop bads can be avoided through the inclusion and exclusion of certain actors within a given assemblage. For instance, the bad of graffiti vandalism can be avoided through the graffiti writer's enrolment of legal surfaces, such as canvases and walls where permission has been granted, and through the exclusion of those that do not fit legal criteria. An example of this from the current study will be discussed below. Similarly, some hip-hop artists in this study highlighted that choices can be made to exclude marijuana use from within a hip-hop lifestyle. In this way many of the goods associated with a given hip-hop activity can be enacted without the co-existence of certain bads. Thus, whether a certain good or bad is to be enacted depends upon the association of actors of which it is a part (Law & Mol, 2008; Mol, 2008). This idea of the

¹⁰⁹ The therapist can expose the young person to a range of songs the artist has produced so to address topics in ways that constitute a therapeutic intervention (Elligan, 2004; Veltre & Hadley, 2012).

multiplicity and malleability of networks that Mol (2002, 2008, 2010) refers to, when applied to hip-hop, enables such choices to be made as it can be (re)assembled into many different versions.

The goods enacted in one hip-hop assemblage can thus contradict the bads enacted in a different hip-hop assemblage (Mol, 2002, 2010). A good example of this is seen in the representation of women within hip-hop. Female rappers, and some male rap artists too, engage in rap assemblages that provide empowering messages to women. Degrading lyrics are replaced by those that express appreciation of women, critique their poor treatment, and give advice on how to stay strong and independent (Ogbar, 2007; Rose, 1994, 2004;). Furthermore, unlike the passive “video vixen”, female rappers enact female agency through having their own voice, where in addition to the above messages, they narrate their own abilities and desires (Emerson, 2002; Ogbar, 2007; Rose, 1994, 2004; Zemke-White, 2000).

In their music videos some female rappers dress in revealing clothes, however this presentation is juxtaposed against their voice and lyrics that limits the artist from simply occupying a role of sexual object. In this way, the scantily clad female body is enacted differently (Emerson, 2002). In many of these assemblages, women express their own sexual desires (Emerson, 2002; Ogbar, 2007; Rose, 1994). Through changing the web of associations (Law & Singleton, 2013; Mol, 2002) in which women are represented, various forms of female agency are enacted. This occurs through the female rapper being associated with a different set of actors; while many of the same actors remain, the enlistment of other actors changes the potential readings of the music video assemblage. In these assemblages the female rapper still dresses in a sexually desirable manner, and performs sexually provocative choreography, but there is the addition of well-muscled men who are also objects of the camera’s gaze. Emerson (2002) notes that, in these assemblages a role reversal occurs, resulting in the sexual objectification of the man in the video. However, the female rappers’ lyrics and the “unfixed and multiple” camera gaze also help configure a relationship between men and women that can be read to be about mutual sexual pleasure and enjoyment (Emerson, 2002, p. 132; Ogbar, 2007; Rose, 1994). Thus changing associations of actors in a given hip-hop representation can see new meanings, and thus new sets of goods and bads,

emerge (Law & Singleton, 2013; Mol, 2010). In this case, this is seen with some misogyny bads being translated into female agency goods.¹¹⁰

Handling Complexities: Editing Hip-Hop

Enacting hip-hop goods within youth work can be considered a task in handling complexity: that is, of handling the tensions between different sets of goods and bads that may be enacted within a given hip-hop assemblage. Whether this is about including or excluding particular actors to translate a bad into a good, or whether it is a case of privileging one good over another, enacting goods is not a simple matter (Mol, 2008, 2010). The ways in which hip-hop bads and goods are handled within youth work assemblages warrant further exploration. In the following sections, I consider how these complexities were negotiated in youth work practice by following the editing of hip-hop assemblages within youth work sites of practice.

Various versions of hip-hop co-exist within hip-hop communities. This enables both youth workers and young people to draw on particular assemblages and not others, and such efforts are often attempts to enact hip-hop goods while avoiding particular hip-hop bads. The following discussion considers how in some cases youth workers could select and draw on assemblages practiced by young people elsewhere, whereas other times they drew on alternative versions not commonly practiced by the young people they wished to work with. With the latter, I consider how young people became interested in partaking in these webs of relations by looking at how one set of goods obtained within the youth work-hip-hop web of relations offset the absence of other hip-hop goods.

In all these situations, as in the tinkering work documented by Mol (2008), editing took place through the collective work of actors. These actors were not just youth workers, but also the technological actors and the young people themselves. These actors, by

¹¹⁰ This is evident in that female hip-hop artists offer incomplete challenges to dominant forms of practicing gender (Morgan, 2004). For instance, within their music videos some female rappers are represented in a sexually provocative way, with revealing clothing, or if fully clothed, perform alongside scantily clad female dancers. For Emerson (2002), these assemblages can still be seen to cater to the male gaze. It is also argued that the sexual objectification of men does not represent healthy relationships (Rose, 1994).

working together, often played important roles in translating hip-hop into a youth work site of practice. Drawing on Winance's (2006, 2010) studies of adjustment practices, I show that how hip-hop is translated into a youth work setting is dependent upon a variety of actors and the actors they are aligned with.

Selecting certain hip-hop assemblages.

As mentioned, the multiplicity of webs of relations enables choices to be made as to which sets of practices to enact (Mol, 2002). Editing can therefore be seen as an act of selection. Editing can be understood as taking place when hip-hop assemblages or actors are selected to be incorporated within a youth work site of practice. As is shown in the descriptions of youth work sites of practice described in this study, editing can also be seen as ongoing (Mol, 2008). Each new enactment of a hip-hop entity or activity requires a new set of adjustments to be made as actors adjust to each other, as actors shift across contexts and time (Mol, 2008; Winance, 2006).

Hip-hop, when understood within the lens of ANT, is therefore never a fixed entity, and cannot be understood in reductionist terms as having a single authentic or original form (Law & Singleton, 2013; Mol, 2008). Youth workers and young people drew on established assemblages associated with hip-hop goods they were seeking,¹¹¹ but these assemblages were also subject to change as they were enacted within youth work socio-material arrangements. Some of these changes were a result of the different socio-material resources available, but what is of interest to the current chapter is that these were also related to constraints and possibilities offered through practicing hip-hop within a particular youth work context where certain hip-hop bads had to be avoided. Here editing consisted of a further level of selection within a broader set of hip-hop activities. This meant that youth workers, and young people (in the case of youth driven activities), selected a version of their hip-hop communities' practices to enact within a youth work site of practice. This was evident in the forms of hip-hop dance that were appropriated as youth work activities.

¹¹¹ See Appendix One for a discussion of some of the common goods being sought by youth workers in the study.

Hip-hop urban dance.

Dance in hip-hop can be enacted in many different ways. Youth workers drew on some versions of hip-hop dance and not others when assembling hip-hop dance activities. Avoiding dance assemblages that involved the sexual objectification or hyper-sexual representation of women was achieved through drawing on versions of hip-hop dance commonly practiced within dance studio, school and church contexts.¹¹² Urban dance assemblages that were incorporated into these youth work assemblages were noted by youth trust staff in this study to not resemble hip-hop misogyny bads that were common in some hip-hop music videos.

The forms of dance practiced as part of youth work activities configured different assemblages of actors. One noticeable difference was the clothing enlisted into the dance performances. The inclusion of baggy clothing in these dance assemblages saw instructors and young people fully clothed, wearing extra baggy sweat pants or shorts and loose fitting tops. In addition, as will be discussed in more depth below, offensive lyrics were edited out of the hip-hop music. As well as avoiding misogyny bads, the resulting music mixes were described by youth trust workers as avoiding hip-hop associations with drugs, alcohol, and gangs.

The hip-hop dance choreography practiced within these youth work sites was also configured in ways that avoided hip-hop misogyny bads. The movement of bodies was assembled differently to the sexually provocative grinding and shaking seen in some hip-hop music videos. Choreography was complex and far ranging, empowering female bodies to engage in numerous forms of expression. Furthermore, being far removed from female sexual objectification, these moves were performed by both genders. Male and female dancers danced alongside each other, doing the same choreography, thus enacting relationships of equal agency and power.

¹¹² See “hip-hop urban dance” in glossary. These urban dance assemblages have ties to commercial forms of dance seen in some music videos and movies, and are enacted as a genre of hip-hop dance within hip-hop dance competitions. These assemblages were readily incorporated by youth trust co-ordinators, as they were familiar with such versions already being enacted within the church their youth trust was affiliated with. In some cases youth trust co-ordinators explained they were also familiar with similar versions of hip-hop dance, as they had seen versions young people themselves were able to perform as part of a school event or commercial dance studio context.

Also, in contrast to some hip-hop music videos, when a camera was mobilised to film a performance, the team as a whole was videoed to capture their synchronicity and dynamism. Close-ups were only on faces, footwork, and other dance moves. In these assemblages, the camera thus enabled the agency of dancers to be emphasised, avoiding enactments of female passivity and sexual objectification. As discussed in Chapter Three, female participation within such hip-hop assemblages enabled participants to expand their repertoire of femininity, challenging some gender norms.

B-boying.

B-boying activities were also readily enrolled into many of the youth work sites of practice with little changes to how it was practiced in the local hip-hop community. It was incorporated into either youth driven activities and events supported by youth workers, or as youth workshops or concerts run by youth workers. The music utilised in the local b-boy community was mobilised in these assemblages. This music was non-controversial, as it did not draw on commercial hip-hop music (Fogarty, 2012). Funk tracks with long sections of break beats, drawing on the likes of James Brown, were the preference of b-boys and b-girls. The editing that did take place involved editing practices already practiced in the b-boy/b-girl community (Fogarty, 2009). B-boys and b-girls were accustomed to editing their own forms of expression, attuning these to the context of performance. When older members battled in private, or at young adult focused performances, some crew members mimed lewd or violent gestures to opponents. These actions were edited out of the performances or workshops they ran where younger family members and/or young b-boys/b-girls were present.¹¹³ These young people took an active role in the editing of their hip-hop practices. This is similar to the patients in Mol's (2008) study who participated within the tinkering work within diabetes care practices to arrive at a good that suited their practical realities. In this case, the adjustments made to the configuration of their hip-hop practice were made so that they could build alliances with other actors in the youth trust assemblage.

¹¹³ Many b-boy performances and battles were performed with family members of a variety of ages in the audience. It was not uncommon to see small children at these events.

Although it could be argued that bads are still enacted in these hip-hop dance arrangements, following the research goals put forward by ANT researchers such as Mol, Moser & Pols, (2010), what is of note is that they were not handled as such within the youth trust network. For instance, it could be argued that urban dance still enacted sexualised choreography, even if not in the same extreme forms as hip-hop gangsta rap videos (Emerson, 2002). Left largely unedited, these forms of hip-hop dance continued enactments of hip-hop socio-material practices already engaged in by young people outside of the youth work network. Consequently, clashes (Mol, 2010) between the hip-hop goods sought by young people and the hip-hop bads avoided by the youth trust network were not encountered.

Assembling alternative hip-hop assemblages.

Some youth workers configured alternative hip-hop webs of relations to those young people were familiar with. The following slices of practice illustrate some of the diverse editing practices of youth worker-hip-hop artists. In these cases, it is shown that seeking to avoid certain hip-hop bads resulted in the editing and reconfiguring of hip-hop activities as practiced in local hip-hop communities. Consequently, youth workers sought to avoid hip-hop bads that some young people they worked with considered to be goods. Following Mol (2008) and Winance (2010), I consider how these tensions were handled through editing practices. In doing so I document the negotiation work that took place where compromises were made between different goods (Mol, Moser & Pols, 2010). It is shown how young people sacrificed some hip-hop goods through the youth work-hip-hop assemblage offering other hip-hop goods of value to young people. In this way, goods could be enacted that suited actors in the youth work network as well as young people themselves. Such editing resulted in youth enrolment in the resulting hip-hop-youth work network.

Graffiti.

In Shane's graffiti programme of action, the painting of the property of others was replaced with that of "legal walls" and other surfaces where permission had been

granted, or was not required. The substitution of actors permeated Shane's enactment of graffiti within the workshops he ran and the graffiti performances that he undertook as part of his youth work within school, church, and at local community events. When he put on graffiti demonstrations for young people at school and church he painted on canvases. This is not a new way of practicing graffiti—as discussed above, some artists choose to enact graffiti within professional art networks or education workshops that also substitute these actors (Chang, 2005; Pardue, 2004). The malleability and multiplicity (Mol, 2002) of graffiti practices enabled Shane to easily avoid graffiti bads through selecting to engage in practices that enacted one version of graffiti over another. This involved substituting one actor over another, such as a canvas over that of a train.

However, unlike the dance assemblages described above where practices already existed within hip-hop communities, Shane found that aspects of the legal practice of graffiti required creativity on his part to arrive at solutions. Shane described encountering a challenge in mentoring young people in learning the skills of graffiti outside of the workshop setting. The graffiti artists he knew that practiced legally had developed their skills on the street through illegal forms of graffiti. This required a change in the web of relations of common graffiti tagging practices in which young people were involved. The solution he arrived at involved creative editing. When giving advice to young people regarding how to gain “tin control”,¹¹⁴ normally acquired by graffiti artists through tagging walls, fences and trains (Halsey & Young, 2002), he advocated that young people substitute these actors, with “some boards in the garage and do five hundred hours of tags”. Through the enlistment of a new assemblage of actors to replace graffiti practices on the street, he devised a solution to enable the support of young people's graffiti interests, whereby the goods of graffiti could be enacted while avoiding the vandalism bads arising through the inclusion of non-legal surfaces. The youth worker, together with the non-human actors that replace non-legal surfaces, thus enact a version of graffiti which can be readily enacted within youth work sites of practice when translated in this way.

¹¹⁴ Tin control refers to hand eye co-ordination with a spray can. This skill is required to move onto creating graffiti “pieces”.

Music production.

Youth worker-hip-hop artist Blake sought to replace many practices associated with bads in the local hip-hop music production community. In doing so he aimed to enact hip-hop music production as a career pathway for young people. Blake challenged the idea that as artists, they should be “grimy and lazy, and do nothing—and that’s what makes you cool”. This required developing a new music production work ethic, whereby artists channelled their energies into music production and promotion. Blake explained that this meant challenging the unproductive practices of artists, such as chatting with mates instead of working in music production settings, as well as the widespread use of drugs and alcohol as part of music production activities. Like Shane, Blake sought to enact hip-hop realities that were different to the local hip-hop community. This required some editing by Blake. To do so he enlisted the help of other actors in order to enact other hip-hop goods of interest. He hoped these goods would create an interest within young people to enrol in his hip-hop-youth work programme of action. Providing young people with assemblages in which these goods could be realised enabled a compromise to be negotiated (Mol, Moser & Pols, 2010) where young people were willing to enact a different version of hip-hop music practices.

Blake excluded drug and alcohol actors from the hip-hop activities he was involved in assembling with the help of a youth trust. He identified alcohol and drugs as having turned past sites set up for joint music production into “a party environment”.¹¹⁵ Blake thus found a ready fit between the hip-hop bads he was seeking to avoid and the youth trust’s requirements for alcohol and drugs to be excluded from its venue. However, enforcing a drug and alcohol free space had the potential to jeopardise the enrolment of young people. Here, the enlistment of actors that could configure an alternative hip-hop assemblage where other hip-hop goods of value to young people could be realised, provided an effective anti-anti-programme (Latour, 1991). This was about providing an assemblage in which young people could engage in and develop their passion for music production.

¹¹⁵ He also cited observing artists develop drug and alcohol addictions that limited their ability to produce and distribute their best work.

The young people who became enrolled spoke with excitement about having a space to produce independent music. This resulted from the assemblage of what Blake described as an “environment that inspires people”. He described this as resulting from bringing together “the equipment and the people and the music”. Gomart & Hennion (1999), highlight the importance of non-humans in such processes whereby actors engage in “techniques of preparation” to induce an experience. The youth trust set aside a space in their venue that allowed Blake and his hip-hop artist friends to establish a permanent space for music production activity. Technical equipment was identified as vital to this assemblage. They were allowed to build a sound booth, and to bring in their music production equipment. The addition of these material actors provided alternative arrangements for hip-hop music production—assembling a productive space. Blake explained:

It's a place where we can be inspired . . . if it's a place of straight business where you are scheduled into record from 9–11 you will come and spend that two hours wisely and you will go away with a dope product, and you'll be excited about coming in so you will write down all your lyrics that you want, and you'll be like 'man, I want to do a real dope song, I don't want to waste my two hours cos you know I'm not back on till Tuesday and I want to have this song for a week to listen to'. You know, that kind of thing.

Enlisting the youth trust venue thus allowed the assemblage of a different set of hip-hop music practices to those enacted within other sites in which the young people had engaged in music production activity. The inclusion of a youth venue that excluded drugs and alcohol, but allowed the permanent set up of music production equipment; saw youth enrolment in programs of action in which the good of music production could be realised. Young people's goods of consuming alcohol and socialising in a party like manner were excluded from the youth work assemblage by providing an alternative web of relations in which another set of hip-hop goods could be sought. Through providing this alternative music production assemblage, young people's hip-hop music production practices were thus successfully reconfigured within the youth trust's web of relations.

Hip-hop dance party.

Youth trusts like YTA experienced challenges in reconfiguring their hip-hop dance parties to exclude actors and practices that co-produced hip-hop bads. For instance, for YTA they worked to ensure that their hip-hop dance parties provided young people with a safe environment. In this case the youth work good of a safe environment (Jeffs & Banks, 2010) clashed with some young people's preferred hip-hop dance party arrangements. Often, actors that young people wanted to enlist compromised safety, such as violence, and actors associated with gangs, such as bandanas, patches and other clothing in gang colours, as well as alcohol and drugs. Youth work-hip-hop activities therefore had to be assembled in ways that countered young people's anti-programmes. For youth trusts, this meant engaging in interessement strategies that interrupted youth enrolment in competing associations (Callon, 1986b).

An interessement strategy that the youth trust relied on was to enlist other actors into the hip-hop-youth work assemblage that could separate young people's alliances with actors associated with bads. For example, YTA enlisted gates and bouncer's to enforce their party rules. The bouncer plus gate assemblage enabled them to control young people's behaviours and the actors they brought with them into the hip-hop youth work assemblage. The addition of gates to their outside area allowed bouncers to remove alcohol, drugs and gang clothing from young people at the gate of the venue. This assemblage could also remove young people who were causing trouble. In this way, exclusions could take place to avoid bads of concern. Here Latour's (1991) approach of tracing the assemblage of anti-programmes, including the actors enlisted for the purpose of gaining control over other actors behaviours, aids analysis of how exclusions of actors was achieved in youth trust attempts to translate hip-hop bads into goods.

Once inside the party, as in Blake and Shane's hip-hop assemblages, the enactment of other hip-hop goods enjoyed by young people resulted in their enrolment in the youth trust's hip-hop programme of action. YTA provided an assemblage that closely resembled what a dance club would provide. To do so it rented lighting and sound equipment. The enactment of a hip-hop assemblage that appealed to young people's

interests helped create a safe hip-hop party environment. This is evident in youth worker- hip-hop DJ Peter's account of his DJ work at the parties:

If I can keep everyone happy with the dancing and that, then that probably helps everyone else. Like they won't be getting into some fights cos they will be too happy. So I can't really play the wrong songs.

In her exploration of some of the diverse uses of music, DeNora (2000) points out that music can be mobilised by a DJ as a social ordering device. At the hip-hop dance party, the assemblage of youth worker-DJ + speakers+ DJ decks + hip-hop songs enrolls young people into the hip-hop programme of action of dancing and having fun with other young people. This example shows that through the editing of a hip-hop assemblage, youth workers and their heterogeneous allies are able to create hip-hop activities that fit together with the goods sought by a youth trust.

Enrolling hip-hop artists.

Enacting hip-hop activities within youth trust assemblages often required the enrolment of hip-hop artists who were not youth workers. Youth workers entrusted with the task of enrolling an artist to provide a performance or workshop for young people were responsible for ensuring that hip-hop bads were not being incorporated into hip-hop-youth work assemblages. The same concerns occurred when enrolling young people to run a youth driven hip-hop event. In turn, hip-hop artists undertook editing work so to translate their activities into configurations that suited other actors within the hip-hop-youth work network.

The ANT lens of relationality understands an entity as acquiring its capacities and characteristics through association (Law & Singleton, 2013). Applying this sensibility highlights the importance of the editing that takes place within youth work worlds. Drawing on Mol's idea of tinkering (2008, 2010), editing can be seen to take place through the selection and substitution of actors. The youth work task of editing through selection and substitution was evident in instances where hip-hop artists were brought in to teach a hip-hop workshop or perform within the school environment. Isaac

describes how he and other youth workers attempted to ensure bads were avoided within graffiti and dance performances and workshops:

I: When an instructor comes in, or a dancer or something, it can't be sexual. Because, there is components of anything you bring in—like you can say the same thing about graffiti artists: what they draw, is really relevant to what we do in schools. So we are very clear on expectations of what they can bring in. With that before they come in a youth worker would meet with them, and they would go 'ok, you're coming in Nicola, I'm gonna tell you my fears, you make sure that'—and she's like 'no, no definitely, because we understand that '. And I'm like 'sweet, well, I just had to say it, because if something went wrong, the school is going to ask me what the heck was happening'. And I can go 'well, I talked to them and said 'don't do that, and they went behind my back' so we can kick them out or whatever.

E: So the youth worker has that role.

I: Yep. Big time it has to. Because it's spinning plates: schools don't have time for it—to have meetings with them, but the youth worker can.

The youth worker, via setting out the hip-hop bads to be avoided and the corresponding socio-material arrangements, makes the hip-hop instructor or performer aware of any editing that may be required if they wish to join the hip-hop-youth work network. Just as nurses and wheel chair experts played an important role in the collective work of tinkering within the care practices documented by Mol (2008) and Winance (2006, 2010), youth workers were required to ensure editing work had taken place within the hip-hop activities provided for young people.

To limit the negotiation work required and increase the likelihood of successful translation, attempts were made to enrol hip-hop artists whose attachments to hip-hop socio-material actors were compatible with the hip-hop arrangements required by the youth work network. In order to mitigate risks of a hip-hop instructor not enacting hip-hop in ways required for the youth work network, decisions were made by youth workers and youth work co-ordinators to exclude certain hip-hop artists from their

activities.¹¹⁶ The artists that were enrolled were most commonly those that were already a part of a youth worker's web of relations. The artist selected was often someone the youth worker already knew, and who had personal and professional hip-hop practices that avoided the enactment of bads of concern to the youth work network.

Collective tinkering (Mol, 2008; Winance, 2010) that results in a hip-hop assemblage that avoided hip-hop bads of concern to a youth worker was dependent on this enlistment of a hip-hop artist who was willing to translate their work into the youth work context: of course finding hip-hop artists that fitted requirements was not always easy. This was especially the case in faith-based trusts that preferred Christian lifestyle elements within their hip-hop assemblage. Aroha described how she looked for dance teachers who fitted her criteria of a good role model:

I mean the thing is—the kids are watching them hard out. . . . But it's pretty hard to find. Like sometimes you can want someone who's from the church, who's got a good lifestyle and who's an amazing teacher. But that's pretty hard to have all those three.

Similarly, Isaac, a co-ordinator of 24-7 YouthWork, described how he was involved in mobilising youth workers and youth leaders with hip-hop skills that were members of churches within their network to work across schools. This selection of hip-hop artists as part of editing efforts saw these actors mobilised across youth work sites of practice within the 24-7 YouthWork network, as there were only a few people that they trusted with the hip-hop skills that met their hip-hop role-model criteria.

Assembling a hip-hop role model.

As discussed, the actors that come together within a hip-hop assemblage make a difference as to the sets of goods and bads enacted. Youth workers identified hip-hop role models as a vital part of countering anti-programmes of hip-hop bads. As mentioned above, hip-hop artists that were enrolled into a youth work-hip-hop assemblage were vetted to see if they met the standards of the youth work network.

¹¹⁶ Some of these decisions were based on knowledge of the attitudes and lifestyle of particular artists gained through media reports and word of mouth.

Matters of concern here included not only the way the artist assembled a hip-hop activity, but also their broader lifestyle. Youth worker-hip-hop artists also described engaging in an active process of assembling themselves as good hip-hop role models. What actors and practices were to be included or excluded from the hip-hop role model assemblage was a focus of youth workers' reflexive practice. For many youth worker-hip-hop artists, being a role model was about exposing young people to actors and practices derived from their personal hip-hop socio-material practices, or, as Blake put it, by "doing me". In this way, they sought to provide an alternative set of goods to some of the negative hip-hop role models that encouraged the enactment of hip-hop bads, such as drug abuse and graffiti vandalism. For instance, Blake recounted how the artists who mentored him as a teenager had influenced him to take up drugs and alcohol. He thus sought to create a new role model assemblage for young people that excluded these actors. Through providing an authentic, yet alternative hip-hop assemblage, youth workers were able to strengthen their interessement efforts (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1991).

Enrolling young people into activities that enacted a set of goods where bads of value to young people were excluded, was reliant upon the enactment of other hip-hop goods of value to the young people. Youth worker-hip-hop artists utilised their achievements within hip-hop worlds as a key part of their interessement efforts to enrol young people in a particular hip-hop programme of action. As Blake explained: "I hope that through my example, that they will be like, wow look what Blake did, you know". Youth worker-hip-hop artists mobilised these aspects of their reputation and identity in their youth work. For instance, Blake saw his reputation, based on both hip-hop artistry and material success, enabling him to role model his lifestyle and choices:

Like I drive a BMW, and you know things like that—with stuff like that you can say to them, you know, you have to work hard to get this kind of stuff, it is not going to get handed to you. And if you want to get it off music, then you have to listen to what we are going to tell you here.

Here he mobilises an actor signifying monetary gain, which in this assemblage is translated to signify hip-hop career success; yet he has achieved this without embracing the drug and alcohol actors referred to in the earlier discussion of hip hop bads. These

actors also affirm the legitimacy and authenticity of the hip-hop-youth work mentor, so to inspire young people to follow their example. In such configurations, what young people perceive as hip-hop goods are enacted to enrol them into programmes of action in which other hip-hop goods they may not be familiar with are sought.

For some hip-hop artist-youth workers, assembling themselves as a hip-hop role model meant overcoming tensions between goods in their hip-hop and youth work worlds. Law and Singleton (2003) note that some actors are good at stitching different realities together so that they cohere. Youth worker-hip-hop artists were tasked with bringing hip-hop and youth work worlds together in ways that avoided the enactment of hip-hop bads of concern to the youth work network. Although efforts may be made to keep realities separate, they can still interfere with each other (Law & Mol, 2002). Youth work sites of practice were found to often overlap with other sites of hip-hop activity. For instance, Peter, who also worked as a DJ at city nightclubs, was careful not to associate himself with alcohol actors. He described how he avoided stumbling home drunk after a set, as he found he commonly encountered young people in the streets late at night. The youth work goods he strived for thus influenced how he conducted his hip-hop activities outside of his time at the youth organisation. In these youth work networks, the hip-hop and youth work socio-material practices of hip-hop-artist come youth workers co-constituted each other.

Assembling hip-hop music.

The actors present within a network and the attachments they have to other actors, determines the goods and bads that have to be negotiated, as well as how actors attune to each other (DeNora, 2013; Winance, 2006). The amount and type of tinkering that takes place is thus specific to a particular collective (Mol, 2008; Winance, 2010). The following discussion explores the complexities of negotiating hip-hop bads by tracing the situational and contingent nature of editing. This is examined by following some of the different ways in which hip-hop music was translated within youth work worlds. I trace how hip-hop music was incorporated into different youth work sites of practice to

highlight how this appropriation was contingent upon the goods sought by different actors within a network, and the nature of their attachments to other actors.

Editing commercial hip-hop music.

Despite the controversial nature of commercial hip-hop music, it was commonly appropriated into dance activities within youth work sites of practice. Commercial hip-hop music's diversity and malleability enabled its incorporation into hip-hop dance party as well as hip-hop urban dance activities. Some songs could be played in their entirety without enacting bads of concern. These were selected by youth workers and placed in playlists for dance party events and dance workshops where songs were played in their entirety. Songs that included problematic lyrics related to the "gangsta-pimp-ho trinity" (Rose, 2008, p. 5) were incorporated into youth work-hip-hop dance activities that mixed music tracks together. Here, these lyrics could be edited out of the assemblage. This required the presence of DJ equipment and individuals with DJ skills. While not all hip-hop songs that were popular with young people required editing, tinkering with hip-hop music was a common part of the production of hip-hop music for dance parties and dance performances. Here, the hip-hop practice of "mixing" music enabled the translation of hip-hop bads into hip-hop goods while maintaining hip-hop authenticity and the youth interest this entails. Since hip-hop's inception, the DJ has been an important component of the hip-hop dance party. It is the task of the DJs to select and remix recorded sounds and music tracks (Rose, 1994). Furthermore, hip-hop urban dance performances for competition are characterised by the production of unique tracks produced for each dance piece through the mixing of various songs together.

The collective work involved in tinkering (Mol, 2008) is evident in the editing of hip-hop songs. The youth worker or DJ volunteer could not engage in editing activity without an alliance with music mixing technologies. For example, Aroha credited the mixer technology owned by the youth trust she worked for as enabling her to appropriate diverse songs into her music mixes. Mixing music was a skill she said she learnt and

relied upon so to provide the music mixes for her dance crews,¹¹⁷ where she described editing out “obscene or sexual references”. Similarly, Peter relied upon enrolling his DJ equipment into YTA’s dance party assemblages so to mix songs to avoid hip-hop bads.

The enrolment of these non-humans within the youth work assemblage enabled the re-assemblage of hip-hop music in ways that translated music considered to enact bads into a form appropriate for use within a youth work context. As discussed above, the exclusion of actors from a hip-hop assemblage creates a different web of relations in which to pursue certain goods and avoid particular bads (Law & Singleton, 2008; Mol, 2010). Instead of having to exclude a particular song from a youth work-hip-hop activity, the DJ assemblage could include it by editing out any lyrics considered to enact a certain bad. Lyrics were removed completely by laying another track in their place, or by scratching over them. The selection of a particular version of a song to add to the mix was also important. Instrumental versions could be used, as could those made for commercial radio play that censored obscene lyrics. These and other elements of hip-hop songs that did not contain problematic lyrics were selected and juxtaposed. This reconfiguring of hip-hop tracks thus saw the mobilisation of popular commercial hip-hop music that young people enjoyed, thus ensuring their enrolment within the hip-hop-youth work assemblage.

Editing as situational.

Youth work networks faced different challenges in translating hip-hop music activities into their assemblage due to their attachment to different actors. As the following examples show, differences were seen in the goods sought by specific young people or funders enrolled in their networks, as well as the actors a youth trust could mobilise to edit hip-hop assemblages. The type and amount of editing of hip-hop music that took place differed both across and within different youth trusts. This is evident in the relative lack of censorship that took place in YTE, in contrast to the editing that YTA had to undertake when translating hip-hop music into their activities.

¹¹⁷ A volunteer from the church Aroha worked for taught her how to assemble the dance music using the mixer.

Not all forms of hip-hop music could be edited within youth work assemblages in ways that retained their authenticity of value to the young people engaged in the activity. For example, free-style rapping and rap battle events contained controversial lyrical content that made these activities difficult to incorporate within a youth trust assemblage. The MCs' style, self-described as "raw", included obscene language and themes. References to violence and drug use were common, as were swear words and derogatory words for women. Unlike the b-boys' obscene dance moves and the commercial hip-hop music tracks that could be edited within a youth work assemblage, the MCs described how they were limited in their abilities to censor their controversial content. Due to established practices of free-style rapping that featured these obscenities, it was hard for rappers to edit these out in the spur of the moment. As one MC put it, what often came out in their free-style rap was "simply the first thing that comes to mind".¹¹⁸

Rapping in freestyle cypher sessions derives its form partly from the underground battle scene (Zemke-White, 2005). This rap aesthetic includes swearing and grimy ghetto style lyrical content (Zemke-White, 2005). These raps contain many obscenities. These are mobilised in jokes made to insult the MC opponent. These insults are frequently based on homophobic language, while metaphors for MC skill and victory were often based on violent imagery. These MC's aesthetic attachments (DeNora, 2013) to these lyrics limited the MC's ability to negotiate solutions within youth work arrangements that required assurances of the exclusion of certain types of lyrics. Like Winance's (1996) study of the adjustments made to wheelchairs, this study found some assemblages were not edited due to some alliances being too strong to be readily detached.

These MC's described how they had encountered difficulties in finding a youth trust that would incorporate their activities. Even YTA, a youth trust with a reputation for supporting underground hip-hop artists, found they could not translate this group's activities into their network. Peter noted YTA could not hold these activities due to the younger teens they worked with. YTA sought to impress upon young people appropriate standards of language use. They did however support other young aspiring MCs. YTA

¹¹⁸ Note that many non-humans mediate this performance. As well as exposure to other rap performances, MC's often studied dictionaries, and some recorded lyrics in written form to then perform during MC battles. However, many freestyle raps were not mediated by this prepared content. This was the case in free-style cypher sessions.

allowed Peter to provide rap music mentoring support and to arrange performance opportunities for young people wishing to develop their MC skills and career.¹¹⁹ The pre-written format of these raps, an assemblage mediated by non-human actors such as paper and pen, allowed social commentary to be assembled without obscenities, enabling a continued alliance between the rapper and the youth work assemblage. In contrast, although the MCs wanting to run a cypher session included political content commentary in their raps, alignment with a rap aesthetic that featured obscenities restricted YTA's ability to work with them.¹²⁰ YTA aimed to exclude obscene language from its youth work assemblage, thus resulting in tensions between the goods of the underground MCs and the bads defined by actors within the YTA network. In looking at different youth work sites of practice within this study, it became apparent that what one youth trust judged as bads were not necessarily considered to be bads for another youth trust. The underground MCs found support for their free-style and battle activities within YTE. YTE management were not concerned with young people's use of swear words, and YTE workers did not ask the MCs to censor their lyrics. The youth workers explained they did not share the same concerns as YTA as they were working with an older age group of young people aged between 16–25 years old. As DeNora (2013, p. 131) notes, "goodness is locally assembled". The youth trust's attachments to different groups of young people created different situations that determined whether a bad was to emerge.

YTA also took a cautious approach to including controversial hip-hop music in their assemblage. This is because the trust had formed an interest map of public misconceptions of hip-hop. Kay, YTA's manager, was aware of the controversy and the public outcry regarding the use of taxpayers' money for hip-hop research.¹²¹ Moreover, the trust itself had experienced hip-hop controversy first hand. Kay relayed how funders had expressed concerns about a graffiti event YTA was running when they saw the graffiti artists' profiles on the advertising materials. Many of the artists were depicted

¹¹⁹ During the study, one such young person was supported by Peter to perform at a variety of youth events. This MC's lyrics were centred on personal social commentary of events relevant to young people within the local community.

¹²⁰ See Appendix One for a discussion of goods commonly identified as emerging through hip-hop's ability to assemble a voice from the margins. The youth workers in this study defined lyrics that made reference to an artist's personal struggles, or provided critiques of political and economic systems, as goods.

¹²¹ This is discussed in Chapter One.

wearing bandanas; despite the bandanas not signifying gang membership, the funders raised concerns that the event was supporting gang activity. Kay's concerns regarding public misperception of their hip-hop activities translated into hip-hop music practices, as Peter explained: ¹²²

During the day when anybody from the public can walk in here we do try and censor it as much as you really can.

Just as Mol (2010) found nurses' practices were assembled to meet the goods of other actors, such as patients' family members or goods as defined in broader policy directives, the exclusion of hip-hop music within this youth work assemblage was not the result of the youth worker's judgment of hip-hop goods or bads. Instead it was partly a product of a response to avoid the bads assumed to be of concern to funders and members of the public (Mol, 2010).

Whether the publics' and/or funders' perceptions were to be of concern was also found to be dependent on material actors within the youth trust venue assemblage. YTA's venue had dual entrance/exits both with easy street access in the middle of town. In contrast, YTE's initial space was located up several flights of stairs, where music could not be overheard. Later on, YTE got access to a basement space that also enabled privacy from the general public. The privacy these spaces engendered meant public exposure to controversial lyrics was not an issue that YTE had to handle by means such as censoring. The good at stake here that had to be handled (Mol, 2010) was that of the youth trusts reputation, which was at risk of being interfered with by enactments of hip-hop bads carried by hip-hop music actors and practices involving obscene lyrics. This came at the price of enrolling young people wishing to practice an art form with these controversial lyrics.

Attachments to and attachments sought with different sets of human and non-human actors therefore resulted in different editing practices of hip-hop music (DeNora, 2013; Winance, 2006). The socio-material arrangements of YTE's venue, catering to activities of older youth, saw an environment where, as one young person put it, "you can do

¹²² Peter explained Kay had to remind the workers of this controversy, as they forgot some people could see their hip-hop activities as bad.

anything". In contrast, at YTA both editing and complete exclusion of some hip-hop music activities and actors took place. Winance (2006) points out that the alliances one holds with certain actors determines which negotiations and adjustments to an assemblage can take place. In the above examples, attachments to particular kinds of young people, combined with the nature of the venue in the hip-hop-youth work assemblage, determined the bads that had to be negotiated, and whether incorporation of certain music activities could take place.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how hip-hop bads were handled within the youth work sites of practice explored within this study. Drawing on the notions of tinkering and adjustment put forward by Mol (2008, 2010) and Winance (2006, 2010) respectively, I used the concept of editing to explore how goods and bads were handled within hip-hop-youth work webs of relations. Through utilising an ANT sensibility to explore the multiplicity and malleability of hip-hop realities, I showed that many hip-hop activities were able to be translated into youth work sites of practice in ways that did not enact bads of concern to youth workers, while at the same time still enacting goods of value to young people. The enactment of the latter was shown to form an important part of the enrolment of young people in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action.

Interessement here can be seen as negotiation work (Callon, 1986b; Mol, Moser & Pols, 2010), whereby compromises are reached between the youth work actors and the young people regarding which goods are to be enacted within the hip-hop-youth work assemblage.

Editing work was often a process of selecting one version of hip-hop activity over another. Through examples from this study, I have been able to reveal how this editing work also involved choosing one set of actors over others through processes of substitution and exclusion. Editing therefore meant choosing which particular hip-hop activities to appropriate. This was seen in the ease with which hip-hop urban dance and b-boying were translated into a youth work network. In other cases, such as graffiti, this selection process involved choosing which version of a hip-hop activity reality to enact.

In both of these forms of editing, the youth work network relied on re-producing versions where editing practices had already taken place to produce forms of hip-hop that avoided certain bads. In other instances, as an additional layer of editing, how hip-hop was practiced in the local community was reconfigured in the youth work site of practice. Here new forms were created through processes of translation, whereby actors within a hip-hop assemblage were substituted with others.

Following the task of editing within this study revealed interferences in young people's ties to certain hip-hop actors and practices. This showed that hip-hop was malleable while retaining its authenticity, thus enabling the successful enrolment of young people, even when a hip-hop practice or artefact was re-configured. Its multiplicity also saw youth workers and young people able to choose versions to enact within youth work worlds. The fluidity and multiplicity of hip-hop socio-material practices enabled editing to take place, so to satisfy the diverse actors needing to come together to enact hip-hop within a youth work context. However, limits to hip-hop's flexibility were also encountered, revealing that hip-hop actors and activities are not always readily translated into youth work networks. By highlighting the contingent nature of censorship choices in relation to the incorporation of MC freestyle cypher sessions and battle activities, this chapter highlights how things could also be otherwise. Editing was shown to be a collective affair, with non-human actors, young people, and youth workers all playing important parts in the editing process. Given the collective nature of tinkering and the different sets of goods and bads at stake, editing took place in different ways across various youth work-hip-hop assemblages.

I have shown that the relationships between hip-hop goods and bads are complex and contradictory. They precluded an arrival at what Winance (2010) calls a perfect arrangement. Guided by lessons learnt from ANT studies in caring practices (Mol, Moser & Pols, 2010), instead of evaluating the goodness or badness of particular hip-hop enactments, I have accounted for what goods and bads were sought within certain practices. Indeed, by exploring the complex relationships between hip-hop goods and bads, I have shown that what is considered good by one set of actors, may be considered bad by others. When reality is understood as multiple, what is enacted becomes an issue of ontological politics (Mol, 1999). The slices of practice considered here, revealed

efforts made by youth trust networks to strengthen some hip-hop realities over others. Some youth worker-hip-hop artists who were part of this study engaged in intentional efforts to strengthen particular hip-hop goods and avoid others. Here these youth worker's youth work and hip-hop artist goods overlapped and supported each other. In contrast, in some assemblages, the strengthening of some hip-hop realities over others was not intentional, but was instead a result of efforts to maintain connections with other actors vital for a youth trust's survival.

As opposed to Mol's (2008) tinkering, where within caring practices patients and other actors arrive at a solution together, at times in youth work networks youth work actors sought to control how young people in the network behaved. Here anti-programmes (Latour, 1991) from the perspective of the youth worker were the young people's goods that others in the youth work network considered to be bads. Anti-anti-programmes can be seen in the assemblage of alternative goods of value to young people, and also in the actors that enforced certain behaviours and alliances between actors, such as the bouncers and gates at YTA's party. Here young people's power to enact a different version of hip-hop is constrained by the heterogeneous actors within the youth trust network. ANT theorists, such as Latour (1986a) and Law (1991), show that power is an effect of an assemblage of actors. Power can therefore shift in relation to the actors an actor forms alliances with. The youth trust became more powerful in determining the goods to be enacted when the trust was tied to resources young people needed to enact a hip-hop activity. Young people therefore can be seen to not have as much power when they lack a similar set of alliances.

Interessement of young people in these arrangements has been shown to be partly dependent on the hip-hop resources provided. Successful translation of hip-hop bads into goods relied on workers being able to obtain resources to make acceptable substitutions, and/or ensure the exclusion of actors. These assemblages were often the result of a hybrid-performance (Latour, 2005), such as that of a youth worker/DJ + DJ turntable + mixer. In addition, the resources provided within a youth trust network were often those of value to young people seeking to realise their own techniques of preparation (Gomart & Hennion, 1999) to induce certain hip-hop goods. The presence of these resources in the network saw young people partake in the editing process,

enacting these goods in place of bads (or other goods). For instance, the b-boys/b-girls and MCs actively attuned some of their hip-hop practices to better fit within a youth work setting. At other times young people presented anti-programmes that had to be overcome in order to avoid hip-hop bads of concern to those in the youth work network. In addition to the enactment of hip-hop goods of value to young people, this occurred through the addition or mobilisation of actors that could exclude some actors within young people's attachments.

Using ANT sensibilities, I have shown that non-human resources are important in the enactment of hip hop assemblages; these resources enable acceptable substitutions to be made, ensure the exclusion of actors, enable the successful translation of hip-hop bads into goods, while also playing a central role in the interessement of young people. However, there is little research on the ways in which these resources are enlisted in youth work-hip-hop initiatives. Therefore, the following chapter looks at how the resources needed to enrol young people into a youth work-hip-hop programme of action were enlisted into the youth trust assemblage. This is of interest given the controversy that surrounds hip-hop. ANT provides a lens to follow the means by which a variety of actors are enrolled and mobilised to resource hip-hop activities.

Chapter Six: The Enrolment of Hip-Hop Resources

Introduction

The formation of an actor-network is dependent on the enrolment of actors that hold other actors in place (Latour, 1987, 1999b). Hip-hop-youth work assemblages are clearly reliant upon the enrolment of young people. Chapters Three, Four and Five have shown that to both enrol and hold these actors in place, other actors need to be enlisted within the youth work network. For instance, human actors, such as hip-hop-youth work mentors, and material actors such as sound systems, music production equipment, and a venue space with a large floor area, helped hold and enrol young people: these actors helped overcome young people's anti-programmes. In this chapter, I trace some of the arrangements through which these resources were enrolled within youth work-hip-hop networks. These resources took the form of people, equipment, spaces, and money for acquiring these actors.

In order to trace the enlistment of those heterogeneous actors that made the provision of hip-hop activities a viable option for the youth trusts in this study, I follow some of the negotiations youth trusts engaged in with funders. The arrangements for obtaining money to secure these needed resources (such as people, equipment, spaces, or more money) reflect particular configurations of humans and non-humans. As outlined in Chapter One, controversies surrounding hip-hop may create barriers to securing certain types of funding. Despite this potential obstacle, some of the youth trusts reported successfully enrolling a range of funders for their hip-hop activities. This chapter draws on the ANT model of translation to explore how youth trusts created obligatory passage points (OPPs) for funders. Obligatory passage points are the "central assemblages through which all relations in the network must flow at some time" (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011, p. 9). Arriving at an OPP occurs as part of interessement efforts, and involves negotiations between parties so that a point of common interest can be reached where all sets of actors relevant to a given assemblage benefit through their involvement (Callon, 1986b; Kerr, 2012; Latour, 1991). I therefore explore how youth trusts had to assemble actors together so to pass through OPPs set up by funders, while

simultaneously aligning funders' interests with their own. I examine how these negotiation efforts impacted upon the configuration of actors within hip-hop-youth work networks. This chapter thus speaks to concerns expressed in the youth work literature regarding the impact contracts with government funders have on youth work aims and activities (see Jeffs & Smith, 1998; Sercombe, 1997; Morgan, 2009; Poynting & White, 2004).

Tracing how funding was secured by youth trusts is key to this chapter. Previous discussion of the resourcing of hip-hop activities has often been limited to that of formal funding actors and arrangements (Baker, Bennett, Homan, 2009; Pardue, 2004; Huq, 2007). Yet the current research revealed that youth trusts and youth workers rarely relied upon formal funders alone: attempts to enrol funders into a hip-hop programme of action were not always successful. Of course, even when a funding application was successful, the funds accrued often did not cover all the resourcing needs of a particular hip-hop event and alternative arrangements were sought. This chapter therefore traces some of the other key arrangements that facilitated these youth trusts' access to the actors needed to strengthen and sustain the reality of a youth work-hip-hop activity.

I begin this chapter by unpacking the key assemblages involved in the recruitment of funders in youth trusts' hip-hop programmes of action. Guided by an ANT interest in tracing how associations are made between actors (Law & Singleton, 2013), I describe activities surrounding attempts to enrol government funds. I then look at how various forms of sponsorship and donations were secured for hip-hop activities and events. While these arrangements are not covered in the same depth as the former, they are presented here so as to highlight the range of ways in which funds and resources were enrolled within hip-hop-youth work networks. In order to reveal the various sets of relationships in which hip-hop-youth work assemblages took shape, this second part of the chapter also starts to unpack how actors in alliance with those already enrolled in the network were mobilised. In the final part of the chapter, I consider how actors' in alliance with those enrolled in the network could be mobilised as and when required. The flexibility of youth work assemblages is further illuminated by exploring the different configurations of actors that were enlisted to resource hip-hop activities.

Using the ANT Translation Framework to Trace the Enlistment of Hip-Hop Resources

Given hip-hop's association with controversy, it has been posited that efforts be made to convince other parties of its worth in work with young people (Elligan, 2012; Hara, 2012; Tillie-Allen, 2005). As previously noted in Chapter One, educators, therapists, and youth studies researchers have highlighted that hip-hop activities are frequently seen as being more controversial than many other youth initiatives (see Baker & Homan, 2007; Elligan, 2012; Hara, 2012; Mahiri, 1996). Hip-hop activities are thus more likely to encounter resistance from actors that are potential sources of needed support (de Roeper & Salvesberg, 2009). Chapter One also outlined hip-hop's association with controversy in a New Zealand context, and noted that hip-hop is likely to require much negotiation work on the part of the youth trusts to acquire material support. It was also noted that the practices by which this negotiation work takes place has been left largely unexplored in the literature to date.

Many accounts of hip-hop initiatives in youth work contexts attribute funding successes to alignments that were made between features of hip-hop and local or national government agendas and initiatives (Baker, Bennett, & Homan, 2008; Bloustein & Peters, 2011; Huq, 2007). However, such accounts do not explore in any depth how these alignments were negotiated into being; the negotiations involved in getting government funders on board with a hip-hop initiative are rarely documented.

By contrast, in his ethnographic account of hip-hop workshops run within state youth prisons, Pardue (2004) describes how the workshops were negotiated into existence. He identifies how hip-hop artists together with psychologists enlisted Brazilian state support for hip-hop workshops by aligning their interests with that of the state, and strategically incorporated discourses of active citizenship into their proposal to secure resources. Pardue (2004) shows how this successfully set up a detour through their hip-hop programme, whereby the state would deliver on its "rhetorical obligation to remake these wayward teenagers into positive and productive citizens" (p. 424). Although Pardue (2004) does not explore these processes with an ANT toolkit, his study highlights aspects of strategies that successfully enrolled government actors into

supporting these programmes. Likewise, the youth trusts in the current study created interest in hip-hop initiatives by translating hip-hop activities into funders' logics. They did so by setting up their hip-hop activities as obligatory passage points for funders to achieve their goals. Building on Pardue's work, I employ concepts from the sociology of translation to elucidate how these translations took place.

ANT's model of translation is useful for unpacking the negotiation work involved in enlisting the support of funders and other actors who may provide needed resources. I trace the negotiations and translation of interests that youth trusts engaged in to achieve support for their hip-hop initiatives. The framework of translation provides a means to follow how new interests are created (Latour, 1991; Whittle, 2010). Rather than assuming that a "context" is either supportive or resistant to an innovation, Latour, (1999b) proposes that we study the work that goes into making the context supportive. As such, the current study is not dissimilar to other ANT studies that use the translation model to study how actors are enrolled and/or mobilised to resource science work (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987; Sundberg, 2007). In applying this idea to studying youth work and hip-hop, I consider the range of alliances that are sought and mobilised in order to strengthen and sustain the reality of a youth work-hip-hop activity.

Through providing an ANT description of slices of negotiation practices, this research illustrates how the enrolment of funders is a more socio-materially complex affair than that accounted for in an analysis such as Pardue's (2004), where human agency is privileged. This becomes evident by following how inscriptions were assembled, circulated, and strengthened in coordination with other assemblages of heterogeneous actors, in efforts to interest funders in supporting the hip-hop-youth work programme of action and/or the youth trust supporting such projects. These assemblages create a detour for funders to fulfil their interests, thus creating a youth work-hip-hop activity as an OPP for funders to achieve their goals.

Following inscriptions.

An important set of non-humans that this chapter follows are inscriptions. For example, within the fields of science and technology studies, actor-network theorists have identified inscriptions as playing mediating roles in the problematisation and interressement processes within funding and resourcing networks (Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987, 1988, 1991). Inscriptions are considered to be the materials born from the translation of actors through inscription into two-dimensional representations (Latour, 1987, 1986b). Inscriptions, such as texts and images, can play an important role in the translation operation due to their ability to enable action at a distance, as they are both mobile and immutable. They also make the traces of actors recorded within them “potentially tractable”, as actors mobilised in documents can be combined and worked with in new ways to also create further inscriptions (Law, 1986, p. 33; Latour, 1986b). For instance, the young people that attend a youth programme may be translated into numbers in an accountability document that can then be worked with in other documents, and ultimately be translated into statistical forms. As Latour (1986b, p. 7) explains, the mobilisation of actors is central to this process:

If you wish to go out of *your* way and come back heavily equipped so as to force others to go out of *their* ways, the main problem to solve is that of mobilization. You have to go and to come back *with* the “things” if your moves are not to be wasted. But the “things” have to be able to withstand the return trip without withering away. Further requirements: the “things” you gathered and displaced have to be presentable all at once to those you want to convince and who did not go there. In sum, you have to invent objects which have the properties of being *mobile* but also *immutable*, *presentable*, *readable* and *combinable* with one another.

Latour highlights how documents can stabilise connections between various actors and carry these assemblages to other people and institutions. This is a task for documents in funding and resourcing networks. Here documents carry youth trust activities to funders, and also make the actors within their activities tractable. The former enables an exploration of how actors are mobilised to create interest in a hip-hop-youth work programme of action, through creating detours or OPPs for funders within funding

application documents, and any supplementary inscriptions such as videos or websites. The latter is particularly helpful for examining how youth trusts prove the value of funds spent to other actors within the funding network within accountability documents.

It is this linking of black boxes that takes place within documents (Callon, Law and Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987, 1999b) that enables knowledge claims to be strengthened and credibility to be gained. Documents also enable problematisation, the first phase of translation, to take place. During problematisation an actor identifies a problem and suggests its solution. The actor frames the issue in a way that positions this actor's solution as an OPP. Documents enable such equivalences among problems to be drawn. When utilised within funding applications, this strategy allows the interests of the funder to be aligned with that of the project needing resources. A detour is formed through translating interests, where the reader is informed "If you are interested in X (major issue) you must be interested in Y" (Geisler & Wickramasinghe, 2009, p. 43; Latour, 1987). For example, Callon (1986b) describes how a group of scientists enlisted the support of fishermen in their scallop research project by convincing the fishermen that their research project was the means by which the fishermen could fulfil their desire to preserve scallop stocks. As Latour, concludes in his discussion of a letter written by Pasteur in pursuit of accruing funds:

On the one hand, the translation operation consists of defining successive layers of vocabulary, of attributing goals, and of defining impossibilities; on the other hand, it consists of displacing . . . one programme of action into another programme of action. The overall movement of the translation is defined by a *detour* and by a *return* (Latour, 1991, p. 125).

These translation operations are also evident in human service worlds. Indeed, as is discussed later in this chapter, even the documents that are used within youth trusts can also be understood as OPPs in and of themselves (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011). Hence, while a youth trust attempts to pass through OPP's in funding documents to obtain funding, they are also setting up an OPP for the funder themselves to pass through.

Combining assemblages.

Circulation of textual artefacts such as funding applications and accountability documents is only one form of assemblage utilised in translation strategies. Efforts to enrol funders were also strengthened by the “words, objects and gestures” involved in forms of “face to face translation” (Law, 1986, p. 33) that were engaged in by youth trust staff. Attention to this combination of assemblages is important when considering how power and control are enacted. As Law, (1986, p. 34) states:

Power may be seen as an *effect* of the creation of a network of mobile, durable yet tractable agents that have been sent out in *one-anothers'* company. A text by itself will be ignored. A person will be snubbed. A device will rust. But if the three are put together it may become. . . more difficult to ignore them. Under the right circumstances the effect is that of power.

In this study, the work of assembling funding documents formed a central part of successful enrolment efforts, however, this often occurred in combination with other forms of assemblages, such as displays of hip-hop activities and conversations with funders; the effect of such an assemblage is that it is more powerful and more difficult for funders to ignore (Law, 1986). I therefore consider how these assemblages worked together to successfully enrol funders, each adding strength to the interessement efforts involved in positioning the youth trust and its hip-hop activities as an OPP for funders to achieve their aims.

Interest maps.

As discussed in Chapter Three, interest maps form a foundation for an actor's translation efforts (Callon & Law, 1982). Interest maps were initially introduced in this thesis as a way to explore how youth trusts followed youth interests. In this chapter I consider how the interest maps youth trusts formed of the interests of funders, and other actors linked to potential resources, guided a youth trust's translation strategies. Interest maps shaped the actors a youth trust mobilised so to assemble hip-hop as as an OPP within funding applications. These interest maps thereby shaped the actors youth trusts brought together in order to form an OPP so to enlist funder support, thus shaping the

nature of hip-hop-youth work assemblages. This chapter therefore adds to the earlier discussions of the influence of multiple actors in shaping hip-hop-youth work assemblages (see Chapters Three, Four and Five).

However, not all funders' interests could be as readily linked to hip-hop activities; interest maps therefore guided not only how the OPP for enlisting hip-hop funds was assembled, but also youth trusts' choices as to which funders to approach, if any. When a youth trust predicted a funder was unlikely to support hip-hop, they tended to rely more heavily on alternative arrangements to resource hip-hop activities. Overall, the interest maps formed, and re-formed, resulted in the youth trusts' funding and resourcing networks taking a fluid form. The youth trusts in this study adjusted their resourcing arrangements and translation strategies in line with the interests of potential funders and other resourcing actors. Tracing the enlistment of hip-hop resources within shifting arrangements thus reveals the mutability and multiplicity of hip-hop-youth work realities.

Enrolling Government Funds

As I have already discussed, funding documents such as applications and reports constituted OPPs for youth trusts to obtain central government and local government funds. These documents constituted places where youth trusts could align their programme of action with the interests of the funders to create an OPP for the funders to achieve their aims (Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987). Moreover, these documents can also be understood as OPPs in and of themselves (Fenwick & Edwards, 2011). If a youth trust wished to enlist the funds of a certain funder, they had to pass through the documents funders had in place to apply for and account for the use of their funds. In the following discussion, I trace various slices of practice involved in the composition and circulation of these funding documents. In doing so, I highlight how documents act as actors (Callon, 2002; Stanley, DuPlessis, & Austrin, 2011) within resourcing networks, as they mobilised particular actors to come together within youth work-hip-hop networks.

In order to assemble heterogeneous actors that allowed successful passage through a fund's OPP, youth trusts had to continually refine their interest maps of funder requirements and goals for a given fund. This meant acquiring knowledge of the broad activities and practices that a funder was looking to support, as well as knowledge of the specific outcomes the funder was looking for. In addition, when including reference to hip-hop activities in their applications, youth trust spokespersons also attempted to ascertain funders' assumptions about hip-hop, and the motivations for considering support of hip-hop activities. These interest maps shaped the assemblage of funding applications and other inscriptions, together with other assemblages intended to interest these funders, in supporting a particular youth trust.

Assembling outcomes in funding application and report documents.

Hip-hop activities and groups were assembled into funding documents in a variety of ways. These assemblages were configured partly in response to the objectives a fund was set up to meet. A youth trust's interest map of a funder's goals for a particular fund influenced the actors that were brought together. Interestingly, hip-hop came to feature in a variety of funding bids. Not only were funds applied for to resource specific hip-hop activities, but hip-hop also featured in youth trust funding bids for generic resources, such as staff salaries or building lease costs. Hip-hop activities, events and groups were mobilised in these applications to provide evidence of the youth trust's activities. In turn, the youth trust could demonstrate that they were meeting a fund's outcome criteria goals, thereby setting up the youth trust as an OPP for the funder to achieve its goals. This setting up of a detour for funders is evident in the following slice of YTE's practices.

Youth Trust E's manager Mark described how he had developed a strategy for reading and completing applications to align the youth trust's initiatives with those of a particular fund. This strategy involved meeting as many of the criteria on the outcomes list as possible. A funder's objectives, as presented within a funding document, thus

influenced which activities YTE mobilised in their funding applications. Youth Trust E mobilised the activities and groups they were involved with that could be readily translated into examples of practices that satisfied the goals of the fund.

The translation of activities and groups saw the reality of a hip-hop activity further multiplied as it became enacted within a range of documents (Mol, 2002). For instance, Mark assembled b-boy events and activities within funding applications in a variety of ways, so to meet the different objectives within and across a range of funding applications. In one application the b-boys were enacted as a way for council to support community events and activities. Meanwhile, in another grant application, a b-boying workshop was described as a means to enact “intergenerational” practices and relationships, so to gain council funds for an intergenerational programme. Translating hip-hop activities into funding documents therefore involved enacting certain hip-hop goods (Mol, 2010).¹²³

Using an ANT lens we can see that the ability of inscriptions to translate and bring actors together (Law, 1986) provided the means to enact hip-hop within certain webs of relations. For instance, by associating hip-hop activities with participants of different ages, the b-boy workshop could be enacted as a means of a funder supporting intergenerational activities. In contrast, by translating its hip-hop groups’ activities into examples of the production of community activities and events, hip-hop became part of the assemblage positioning the youth trust as an OPP for the council to fulfill its goals of supporting community events and activities.

The enactment of hip-hop goods also took place in the assemblage and mobilisation of hip-hop within accountability documents. Funding applications called for achieved and projected outcomes to be described. Similarly, outcomes and outputs needed to be assembled within reports to funders. Outputs were readily assembled through recording the numbers and demographics of a young person who engaged in a hip-hop activity.¹²⁴ Aroha described how in her experience hip-hop activities were helpful in generating

¹²³ For a discussion of some of the goods circulated in these documents, see Appendix One.

¹²⁴ Youth trusts produced other documents so that youth workers could record the numbers of young people they interacted with. Youth trusts focused on youth run activities also produced an entry log for young people to record the time spent at the youth venue. In this way, young people could be translated into numbers that could then be mobilised in their funding application and accountability documents.

funding due to the large numbers of Maori and Pacific youth they could connect with by running these activities. Maori youth were a priority for many types of government and community funding:¹²⁵

If you have Maori or Polynesian young people involved—Maori and Polynesian have a separate box and if you tick it you can pretty much get more funding.

These funding documents enabled a translation of hip-hop into an activity that satisfied funders' interests in funding activities that supported Maori and Pacific young people. The documents also mobilised youth trusts and youth workers to channel resources into the provision of activities that appealed to these young people. As noted in Chapter Three, one YTC spokesperson cited this as a motivation to provide hip-hop activities.

However, the youth organisations administrators reported a dislike of translating outcomes into quantifiable measurements, as their activities were not configured in a highly structured form with set programme time frames and participants. For instance, the Ministry of Youth Development (MYD) Partnership Fund application contained tables, one which asked for a description of project goals, outcomes, and evaluation methods to be listed; another asked for information on the outcomes, activities, number of young people benefitting, delivery dates, and how the organisation would measure success. These documents, as ANT theorists have demonstrated with other non-human actors (Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014; Latour, 1988a, 1992), required certain actions to be taken by the people interacting with them. Such tables posed problems for some youth trusts, as they required specific quantifiable outcomes. They required translations of actors that the youth trusts struggled to produce. Some administrators described encountering these difficulties in “rigid” government ministry funding frameworks.

T: And there is an element though, that two salaries in a space should equal this kind of transformation. And the rest of that should be true and justifiable.

E: How do you measure?

¹²⁵ Documents are interconnected. Atkinson and Coffey (2004) point out that documents within audit trails “reflect and refer (often implicitly) to other documents” (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p. 67). Funding application documents were often formed in response to other policy documents and strategies, such as the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (2002), which in turn is linked to other policies and strategies. Maori and Pacific young people are recognised in the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (2002) as having specific needs.

T: Indeed. And the longevity of it. And those are the things that are really difficult to actually measure. They are outcomes that you can't actually put out there.

Youth organisations' problems with translating youth work relationship and recreation activities into quantifiable measurements has been documented elsewhere (see Bruce et al., 2009; McLaughlin, 2000; Rodd & Stewart, 2009; Spence, 2008). Furthermore, as Crimmens et al. (2004) point out, part of the challenge often lies in putting in place evaluation methods, as these practices require further resources. The need to enlist computers, research companies, and additional staff time poses a challenge for community based organisations working within the confines of limited resources.

In the current study, a lack of evaluation support resources meant youth trusts were restricted in their ability to pass through these obligatory passage points for funds from central government.¹²⁶ However, while seeking similar information, some funding application documents did not require these translations. The documents positioned as OPPs for youth trusts to access council funds allowed outcomes to be documented within a less rigid framework. Rather than requiring tables to be filled in, the CCC community-funding document simply asked for outcomes and project goals to be described. It provided large boxes for youth trusts to detail their activities and objectives. As shown in the example of the b-boys above, these documents allowed youth trusts to describe how their activities aligned with the council's own "funding outcomes". Here, evaluation methods were optional, and thus configured an attractive alternative OPP for youth work trusts to obtain funds. These youth trusts found that they could apply for funds for the running costs of their youth spaces instead of applying for funds for a specific activity. In this way hip-hop activities were resourced without having to configure evaluation arrangements.

¹²⁶ Many youth trust spokespeople mentioned that this was not an impossibility, but indicated that they were not equipped to do the translations themselves. They spoke of the need to form alliances with researchers who could help them carry out evaluations, by either doing a formative needs analysis, as well as helping them set in place measurement tools so they could document their outputs and outcomes of interest to their funders.

Assembling hip-hop success stories and displays.

Youth workers and youth organisations are described as having formed a reliance on circulating knowledge via the sharing of stories, often in conversational format (Martin & Martin, 2012; Spence, 2008). Not surprisingly, the youth trusts spokespersons in this study preferred engaging in OPPs for funds that involved accountability arrangements whereby they could share the success stories that had emerged from their hip-hop activities. As a strategy, based on the formation of interest maps, these stories were assembled to illustrate to funders the positive outcomes that can come from young people's involvement in hip-hop. These stories were not only mobilised in funding documents, but also in conversations with fund representatives.

As Law (1986) points out, attempts to enrol others are strengthened when documents are combined with talk and other displays. Both in demonstrating the use of funds, and building a reputation so to attract future funding, YTE used an additional strategy: providing displays of youth activities for funders. In planning a display for a visit by the Mayor, Mark explained how the inclusion of the b-boy crew would be helpful in assembling a reputation for their youth trust as one that supported youth from lower socio-economic areas. This was an element of their assemblage that they predicted would interest funders.¹²⁷ He described how the b-boys were their “trophy prize-poster child”, as they were “poorer kids doing something positive, and having fun with each other in a truly multicultural way”. Such displays were also circulated amongst people involved in funding networks who could not visit the events in action through the addition of other inscriptions. Video footage of a past b-boy event was mobilised to supplement a funding proposal. In another case a podcast was made of a b-boy workshop to fulfil accountability requirements for a council grant. These displays and inscriptions therefore strengthened descriptions contained within documents and supported any verbal correspondence with funders (Latour, 1987).

However, not all of the youth trusts mobilised hip-hop actors in assemblages to secure funding. Kay, manager at YTA, chose not to mobilise the achievements of the hip-hop

¹²⁷ At the time YTE were worried that they were not being seen as supporting vulnerable youth, making their activities of less interest to funders who were presented with other NGO's who supported at risk youth through specific challenges. This interest map therefore saw them mobilise the b-boy crew.

crews that they supported as part of YTA's funding applications or accountability statements in documents, conversations, or displays. For Kay, enacting young people's achievements within their hip-hop world as a product of their youth trust's support was considered an inaccurate representation of how their success had been achieved:

I think that they have worked so hard, I don't want us to take the credit for that And it doesn't really cost us anything for them to come here.

Kay chose not to report the b-boy crew's success at international hip-hop competitions to promote the work of YTA. As will become clear later in this chapter, youth trusts were in different positions in terms of the ways in which they could support youth hip-hop activities without the direct enrolment of funders through a hip-hop detour.

Assembling a youth trust.

Having looked at how hip-hop was mobilised and translated into OPPs for funders to obtain their goals, I now turn to consider actors that were assembled together so a youth trust could demonstrate their compliance with a funder's more general standards and goals for community and youth services practice. These slices of practice, once again mobilised by funding documents, often worked together with the assembling of outcomes and outputs to strengthen attempts at interesting funders in passing through a youth trust's OPP to obtain their fund goals.

Funding application documents contained sections to establish the authenticity of charitable youth trusts for confirmation that the group was a legal entity. This obligatory passage point required groups to engage with legal webs of relations, that is the processes and socio-material practices by which the group receives accreditation as a charitable trust. Assembling a youth trust thus involved the configuration of accountability structures in order to enact themselves as a reliable actor that the funders could safely tie their funds to. Being able to mobilise a youth trust actor within funding applications was required in order to pass through the OPP set up by government funders wishing to assess the suitability of fund applicants.

Operating youth activities under a youth trust was of particular strategic importance for church based initiatives, which often encountered difficulties in interesting funders outside of the church. Spokespersons for youth trusts that had originated from church based activities spoke of the need for setting up a youth trust in order to set up a separate identity to that of the church. This was to meet funder's requirements regarding the use of funds for non-church activities. Tobias explains:

So our church realised that it needed an arm to where the things that we would set up would be programmes or relational-based kind of things in their own right that would allow them to have access to funding. So we have got a clear constitution, we have got trustees, mission statement—the whole nine yards, where we are actually going, this is a separate legal entity, though it has some sort of faith in its DNA, but at the end of the day, we are really linking into—like we adhere to the youth workers code of ethics, and pretty much connecting into the youth work, youth needs model. We very much class ourselves as fulfilling somewhat of a community, or significant other role in the life of a young person and stuff. So. Yeah. So it doesn't [be]come an end unto itself, but it was more or less supporting what we were already doing—because at the end of the day, we are kosher with all the funding agencies. We are going: 'this is not just another church service'.

Tobias explains how the youth trust was set up through the assemblage and enrolment of a variety of actors including: mission statements; constitutional documents; a church building; and the youth work code of ethics. The youth trust that resulted enabled YTC to pass through the OPP set up by the funding application.

Owing to their accountability structures, both secular and faith based youth trusts also operated as OPPs for young people to access funds and resources. Christchurch City Council (CCC) Community Recreation Advisor Jude explains:

If you wanted to access funding then you need to be linked to another organisation to have that financial accountability. And so an example of that would be when John [b-boy crew leader] wants to put on sort of a hip-hop event, as an individual he can't really come to us, however, if he does it with support and

under the financial accountability umbrella, of say YTE, then we can make things happen that way. So it is just about us all working in together, we can't just be funding individuals.

Positioning a young person's hip-hop activities within the wider webs of relations of a youth trust associated a young person's hip-hop activities within an accountability framework that gave these activities the legitimacy of other activities run through a youth trust. Mark explains how YTE's support of a hip-hop music production artist's idea was vital for it to receive funding:

Because they can't apply for funding themselves . . . so if we are the umbrella organisation, then they can really just call their thing 'the name of the project'.

Likewise, these young people explained that they chose to associate themselves with YTE not only to gain access to this trust's resources and support, but also to obtain additional funds to support their activities and events. This set of arrangements, whereby young people were mobilised to work together with a youth trust, saw youth trusts playing a key role in the enactment of youth driven activities with hip-hop.

Assembling collaborations.

A common focus of local and central government in New Zealand since the 1990s has been to support inter-agency collaboration (Atkinson, 2007). At the time of my fieldwork, the funding application templates often incorporated a section asking for links between the youth trust and other groups or organisations to be demonstrated. In this way, these documents stabilised requirements or OPPs to obtain funds, contributing to configurations where organisations or groups were mobilised to collaborate.

Youth trusts mobilised connections between groups under their youth trust umbrella in funding bids for specific activities, as an innovative means to channel funds into unmet hip-hop needs. For instance, Mark, YTE:

We put this joint application for [The Hip-hop Music Creation Project] and [The Youth Health Initiative] and we got a global contribution of three thousand dollars which just means you can spend it on anything. And because [The Youth

Health Initiative] is super well funded already we are just like 'oh you [The Hip-hop Music Creation Project] can have that', just apply to us as to what you want to spend it on and we will hook you it up.

The hip-hop initiative Mark referred to had been unsuccessful in previous funding bids. By linking this hip-hop initiative with other services the trust provided, and by selecting where they mobilised funds received, this youth trust enabled the hip-hop project to receive the resources it needed. By connecting the hip hop activity with another activity which they knew aligned with a funder's current interests and assessment of service provision needs in the community, an OPP was assembled for funders to support the hip-hop activity.

Enrolling and associating diverse groups together also constituted an important part of a common interestment strategy. Multiple and diverse groups were often enrolled into a youth trust assemblage in order to demonstrate to funders the value of investing in the provision of a youth trust's youth venue resources. Here the youth trust positioned itself as an OPP for funders to support multiple community groups. As Mark explained, in this configuration taking funding away from their trust would jeopardise the practices of many groups. These assemblages also enabled further demonstration of "networking" with other groups. Moreover, they also showed that the resources provided were multi-purpose and in high use. Youth trust managers described how their wish to convey this in funding documents thereby influenced their decisions to enrol hip-hop groups along with other community groups into their youth trust spaces.

To avoid replication in service provision, funding application documents also contained a question asking for evidence that services were not being provided by another provider. Mark explained:

The big questions that are coming out of the funding applications is, you know, 'does anybody else in the community provide this service?' And if they do, you are probably pretty screwed, because the council is probably already paying for it. So if you can collaborate with them and show that you are working with other groups, the funding becomes a LOT easier, and its just that thing that they don't want to be paying for the same thing twice.

Mark describes how an interest map of local government funder's interests was formed that shaped their strategy of collaborating with other organisations. Here hip-hop was enrolled alongside other projects where YTE documented the events they had run in collaboration with other community groups and organisations.

In addition to encouraging groups to work together, documents also delineated and held actors together as discrete entities (Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014; Latour, 2005). Using an ANT lens, Latour (2005) identifies documents as playing a role in delineating group boundaries. Haxell (2012) notes that boundary work was undertaken by the New Zealand youth trust she studied in order for collaborations between itself and other community agencies to be established. In the current study, such boundary work was essential for collaborations to take place. Negotiation work took place to arrive at agreements on the parameters of the roles and responsibilities of various actors, and how work and resources would be shared. This boundary work was assisted through documents that featured in the contractual process. For instance, within 24-7 collaborations, actors described how negotiation work took place to figure out which organisation was to provide which resources, and therefore how a particular fund would be distributed amongst the players. These arrangements were then stabilised through recording them within various funding contracts that could then be circulated amongst stakeholders.

Mobilising the Positive Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa.

The detour configured for funders was also attempted through mobilising the Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa (YDSA) (2002). As mentioned in Chapter One, the YDSA document informs efforts to better support youth, and is mobilised within government ministries and local government strategies for youth. In this study, youth trust spokespersons' knowledge of the centrality of this document for the meeting of various ministries and local government programmes of action for youth meant hip-hop was translated as means for funders to fulfil their YDSA obligations. Some funds circulated documents containing funding criteria that referred to positive youth development goals to be met and made explicit reference to the YDSA in information guiding their "expected outcomes" section.

Efforts by youth trust spokespeople were made to present hip-hop activities in positive youth development terms, mobilising theories and frameworks brought together within the YDSA and the Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa framework (PYDA).¹²⁸ The prediction of interests of government funders in PYD saw YTE, like other organisations in this study, incorporate references to PYD terms, theories, and models of practice, as well as the YDSA and PYDA documents, or as Mark put it “to link all our applications back to the Youth Development Strategy”. By doing so, they mobilised black boxes that in effect strengthened the goods or facts they were building. As Latour, (1987, p. 122) contends in regards to scientific fact building: “the only way to keep the dissenters at bay is to link the fate of the claim with so many assembled elements that it resists all trials to break it apart”. Each black box is hard to discount, as they incorporate many black boxes that too would have to be discounted. This meant that when linking hip-hop to principles, models, and practices of PYD, youth trusts extended their alliances, and thus increased the likelihood of interessement.

The arrangements examined so far form a part of youth trusts’ efforts to establish credibility with funders. Assembling youth trust status, collaborating with other community groups, and translating hip-hop activities in terms of positive youth development and specific fund outcome criteria, meant actors were assembled and mobilised in ways that met a funder’s criteria and goals for community and youth services practice. The funding documents themselves encouraged the configuration of such assemblages, through not only transporting a youth trusts work to funders, but also by virtue of the information they requested.

Configuring a good reputation.

Assembling a good reputation and credibility amongst funders formed an important part of a youth trust’s work in acquiring funding. The good reputation of the youth trust can be judged in terms of: the track record of its present and previous initiatives; the

¹²⁸ “The Positive Youth Development in Aotearoa framework (PYDA) has been developed by the Youth Advisory Group (YAG) for the Wayne Francis Charitable Trust (WFCT) a Christchurch- based private family philanthropic Trust. . . . As part of its strategic approach WFCT commissioned the YAG to develop criteria against which organisations and projects being considered could be assessed as to whether they supported young people appropriately” (WFCT-YAG, 2011, p. 1).

practices and values of the youth trust's workers and collaborators; and the successful enrolment of funders in applications for new or repeat funding. A good reputation, in terms of awareness on the part of funders of the youth trust's associations with particular actors, could aid in convincing funders that a youth trust would implement activities in ways that met a funder's standards for processes and outcomes.

Strengthening the credibility of a funding application was therefore often attempted through establishing awareness of the youth trust's work. One way in which this was achieved was through the displays and conversations that the youth trust had with fund representatives and spokespersons.

As discussed, documents work best to convince other parties when combined with other assemblages such as displays and conversations about the work (Law, 1986). By engaging with fund advisors in these ways, youth trust spokespersons also sought to establish greater understanding on the part of funders of the trust's work. Through these actor's visits to the youth trust's sites of activity, and conversations with youth trust actors about their work, a greater understanding on the part of funders of the youth trust's purpose, values, and method assemblages could be generated. Tobias, manager YTC, explained how a fund advisor's exposure to youth trust actors and practices formed an important part of efforts to convince funders that the youth trust was capable of meeting the fund outcome requirements:

Because they get stacks of applications, and they want to back people that are actually doing what they say they are doing, and people who are actually going to do a good job with the money.

The importance of these connections with fund representatives was highlighted by situations where this connection had not yet been built. For example, for YTE manager Mark, not having built a connection with representatives on a particular community board was a cause for anxiety. He described how a change in the OPP for their funding proposal for local council funds from one community board to another caused him to doubt how successful they would be in their funding bid. Youth Trust E hoped their application for a small grant for their hip-hop music production initiative was to go though the community board connected to the youth funding advisor that they had

already established links with. However, Mark was disappointed to find that instead it had to go through a different board.

Latour (1987) explains that choices must be made when investing in building relationships with actors in order to enlist needed resources. In the case of youth trusts, resources and energies for investing in funding bids are limited (Crimmens, et al., 2004; Haxell, 2012). In the current study, the youth trusts focused their energies and resources on making funding bids that they knew would come to fruition. For some youth trusts this meant only attempting to bid for funds for hip-hop activities with funders who they had already established a relationship with. Building a relationship with a youth fund representative formed an important part of a youth trust's reputation work. The majority of this work consisted of establishing associations with the youth trust as an actor whose practices met a funder's criteria.

Generating awareness of the youth trust's general practices was particularly important when applying for funds for hip-hop activities and events. Peter, youth worker YTA, attributed the backing of YTA's hip-hop activities to the awareness they had established with some funders of the work, goals and values of YTA and its workers:

A lot of it is to do with the kind of relationship we have with people. If they understand what kind of things we are trying to push—yeah, so they understand the kind of people that are pushing it. We wouldn't be doing things if we knew that there were going to be negative things involved.

Circulating information about the youth trust's socio-material practices here contributed to efforts to convince a funder to support their hip-hop activity (Latour, 1987, 1999b). In this way the youth trust could dispel ideas that hip-hop was of concern to a funder would be enacted.

Using an ANT lens, we can see that reputations can be circulated through binding actors in inscriptions and verbal conversations (Law, 1986). Mission statements, circulated on websites, pamphlets, and funding applications, stated goods sought and aspects of their accompanying method assemblages that connected with current youth development discourses. Human actors together with heterogeneous mediators, worked to establish a

reputation of the youth trust within funding networks by circulating information about its activities (Callon, Law, & Rip, 1986; Latour, 1987, 1999b). Mark reflected on the power of gaining publicity by having the youth trust becoming known in the community, partly through “chatter”:

Like with funding especially, the more ‘hits’ you get on your name being said out in the community, people were come to you saying ‘oh, we’ve been hearing about you guys heaps’, and then that is a huge thing for funding. But it’s a chicken and egg thing anyway, cos people only talk about you if you have done good community work as well, there is no way to fake that chatter, you know. But I think the chatter is quite important eh. So I sort of see that as positive relationship, if they are chatting something good about us—like YTA, if they are still out there saying positive shit- then for me that is a relationship that is working, and if they are not, then it is something that needs work. Yep.

As discussed in Chapter Four, youth trusts do not have complete control over how their activities are communicated to others. Each actor can mediate the meaning or elements they are supposed to carry (Latour, 2005, p. 39). Here Mark sees a correlation with producing a positive event, and actors passing on information about the youth trust’s activities to other actors, in the form of a positive recommendation to others.

A youth trust’s credibility could also be judged on its past performance in earlier funding rounds for a particular fund, as well as the other funds it had previously accrued. Funding application forms enabled this means of judging the worth of a youth trust by also containing sections asking for details of past funding. These details provided an opportunity to establish credibility by proving that a youth trust had already met the standards of other funders. A youth trust could tie their present funding document to other funds and funders, each black box strengthening their credibility. Consequently, some youth trusts were in a better position than others to establish their credibility in running youth activities, with their names appearing on other documents they had previously completed.

A youth trust could also build its reputation through association with other groups and community organisation partners. Such choices in association are important in order to

enlist certain actors' support (Latour, 1987). The reputation of these actors, and the goods they were associated with that were of value to funders, further strengthened the youth trust's credibility. Consequently, the reputation of the group itself often informed a youth trust's choice to enlist the group into their network and to mobilise the group in a funding application. For YTE, the inclusion of their b-boy crew in their application took on even more importance given they had a history and reputation as a community group that delivered results when funded: winning competitions, as well as putting on performances and successful events themselves. Youth trusts thus readily formed connections with groups that had already established reputations that saw them favoured by funders as good youth work activities.

Reconfiguring hip-hop bads to create a hip-hop detour.

As discussed in Chapter Five, hip-hop is frequently associated with many bads. Youth trusts demonstrated different ways of challenging hip-hop stereotypes within the context of interesting funders in supporting hip-hop activities. Once again, the different interest maps formed by youth trust management resulted in different approaches to gaining funds for hip-hop activities (Callon & Law, 1982). To do so, some youth trusts circulated inscriptions that configured hip-hop in ways that challenged funder's concerns around hip-hop bads. In other situations, instead of directly challenging funder's perceptions, a hip-hop detour was created by substituting hip-hop language with alternative terms of reference for actors in an attempt to fit within funders' ideas of what constituted good activities. In some cases, a lack of reference to hip-hop actors was so complete that hip-hop stereotypes were not challenged while a hip-hop detour was still created for funders. The ability of inscriptions to enact hip-hop in particular ways when circulating hip-hop assemblages to funders allowed these various interessement strategies to take place.

Challenging hip-hop stereotypes.

In some situations hip-hop stereotypes needed to be challenged by a youth trust in order to create a hip-hop detour for funders. A number of youth trust spokespersons highlighted that differences in perception of what hip-hop is could result in a funder's

reluctance to support hip-hop groups, as Mark pointed out: “I suppose what we define hip-hop as and what they define hip-hop as is a totally different thing”.

Such misperceptions could be challenged through a youth trust exposing those representing a funding body to hip-hop assemblages that challenged their assumptions. For YTE, this involved bringing hip-hop-youth work activities into a funder’s awareness. When Mark encountered resistance to the b-boys inclusion in a CCC community event celebrating the safety of inner city Christchurch, he assembled a hip-hop detour, by enacting it within the funding proposal in a way that highlighted its compatibility with their goals of showcasing the city’s safety.

It’s funny, like the proposal I wrote for—because the council said ‘nah we are not going to do it’. It was back and forth all the time, so I just like slapped in the proposal, and it was just said like ‘b-boying is like this totally safe, non-invasive, doesn’t cause any property damage’, you know, all these reasons why it was safe for Christchurch.

He further strengthened this proposal by attaching another inscription in the form of a video of one of the b-boy events they had previously run. The visual spectacle and immediacy for audience connection offered by these displays helped to enrol resistant actors. Mark reported the council had said: “oh, we have all seen the footage, we are all really excited about it”. This demonstrates, how generating the interest and support of actors outside of the youth trust is an outcome of the enrolment efforts of a collective of actors.

However, in some cases hip-hop’s associations with bads were not challenged. In a funding application for their hip-hop music production project, YTE acknowledged the possibilities for bads to occur within hip-hop activities. They did so in order to position their activity as a positive alternative for youth. Here descriptions of hip-hop music practices outside of the youth trust setting, that associated hip-hop with alcohol and drugs, were outlined. Through the problematisation of drugs and alcohol in wider hip-hop music activities, YTE was set up as an OPP for a funder wishing to divert young people away from these activities. The funding application outlined YTE’s strategies to keep young people away from drugs and alcohol and choosing drug free hip-hop

practice. This enabled the translation operation (Callon, 1986b) to take place, through language that displaced the funder's programme of action desiring to support positive and safe forms of youth activity into a hip-hop-youth work programme of action (Latour, 1991). In this way, youth worker-hip-hop artists hoped to draw on a funder's understanding of hip-hop's youth engagement potential, while at the same time minimising any concerns about their project. As Whittle, Suhomlinova and Mueller (2010) also found, following the discourse used to align an actors interests with a project highlights how the support of actors suspicious of a plan of action can be enlisted.

Translating hip-hop language.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, actors that were associated with hip-hop bads for some funders were not mobilised in other funding applications: hip-hop's ability to be enacted in multiple ways also enabled it to be enacted within funding applications in ways that avoided associations with bads of concern to funders. Law and Singleton (2003) and Mol (2002) argue that an entity can be considered multiple when it is enacted in different ways across various contexts. These ANT theorists argue that these realities are also partially connected. Within this study, hip-hop's multiplicity was evident in that it could be mobilised within different sets of associations within different funding documents.

Making hip-hop activities palatable

The translation operation can be seen to be at work when different language is used to refer to the same entity (Latour, 1987, 1991). Where funders constituted a potential part of a document's audience, the language describing a hip-hop activity was assembled to suit outcomes funders were seeking, and to avoid misunderstandings that terms used within a hip-hop community may engender on the part of outsiders. In this case, funders were exposed to the hip-hop enactments that fitted within their own programmes of action, while young people were spoken to in the hip-hop "street" styles they were accustomed to.

Crucial to the success of these different enactments were the interest maps that youth trusts formed of each group's frames of reference for hip-hop activities. These included

the goods preferred by each group, as well as the bads they wished to avoid. For instance, one youth organisation advertised their graffiti workshops as “urban murals”. As the spokesperson described, using this language meant they could avoid graffiti’s association with gangs. In contrast, they called the activities graffiti art when working with young people. Mol (2002), talks about how an entity’s diverse realities can co-exist by being enacted differently across separate sites. In the example above, the street associations of hip-hop were enacted through the use of hip-hop language with the young people, but funder support was also enlisted by enacting it differently in the documents circulated amongst that audience. In the latter, associations with art and community initiatives are enacted. Enacting hip-hop differently across sites enables these different realities to be produced by the youth organisation.

It is therefore helpful to consider documents as different sites of practice (Law & Singleton, 2003), where different actors are drawn together to enact hip-hop. A range of documents can be produced by any given organisation (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004). As was evident in the discussion above on assembling a good reputation, inscriptions outside of funding documents were also mobilised as part of a youth trusts interessement efforts. The youth trusts’ assembled hip-hop in the inscriptions they circulated with a particular audience in mind. For instance, Scott described how YTE built relationships with different groups of actors:

So we will have a Facebook event online and it will be written up in youth speak, you know, so they can head along to that. Yet if we were to put something in the newspaper it would be very much talking about the positive outcomes around youth development because that is what parents and funders want to see. There definitely needs to be different language for different markets, and different communication channels allow for that. So I think that is really important eh.

Web pages and media releases were assembled by the youth trust with the aim of distributing knowledge about their hip-hop activities to funders. At the same time the trust kept much hip-hop street language to documents and conversations where they interacted solely with youth. Seeing documents as different sites of practice (Mol, 2002) thus enables different strategies to be documented outside of those that consider how a

shared language between young people and funders is established, such as that documented by Nakkula, Forster, Mannes, and Bolstrom (2010).

Rendering the hip-hop detour invisible

It has been noted elsewhere in the literature, that when competing for funding contracts, it is not unusual for managers to reclassify their organisation's activities to align them with specific funding criteria and to minimise the emphasis placed on other "unmeasured or less generously rewarded" activities (Field, 2003, p. 209; Morgan, 2009). In some funding application assemblages, hip-hop activities were rendered invisible through the use of language pertaining to broader categories of activity. For example, YTA chose to not explicitly refer to hip-hop in many of its funding applications and reports to government funders. Hip-hop was instead subsumed under the broader term "arts and events" as part of their "youth development activities" that they put forward in funding proposals. Unlike the newer organisations that were willing to experiment with their hip-hop funding strategies, YTA took a more cautious approach. This cautious strategy was in large part due to an interest map the manager had formed from her experiences and knowledge of events where publically funded hip-hop activities had not been received well by politicians, media and the general public. YTA had known the researchers whose hip-hop project had become the subject of public and political outcries.¹²⁹ Furthermore, YTA's own hip-hop activities had received negative reactions from funders in the past.¹³⁰ Based on different interest maps, the OPPs assembled for funders thus varied both across and within youth trusts.

In sum, the survival of the youth trust itself was at least partially reliant upon youth trusts enlisting money from government funders. Similarly, the need for additional funds to provide further resources for a specific hip-hop activity saw many of the youth trusts attempting to enrol these funders into their hip-hop programme of action. To do so, youth trusts had to pass through multiple OPPs set up by funders hoping to serve their own programmes of action, many of which were stabilised within funding documents. Key arrangements assembled in order to do so included: collaborating with

¹²⁹ See Chapter One for an overview of this controversy.

¹³⁰ See Chapter Five for YTA's experience with a graffiti event.

other groups and organisations; demonstrating an alignment of outcomes with the goals of a particular fund; and assembling a youth trust identity and accountability structures. Many actors were mobilised together in order to pass through these obligatory passage points that may otherwise not have been brought together.

In addition, assembling and circulating a reputation as a reliable youth provider was identified as assisting enrolment efforts. This also involved the coming together of actors both human and non-human that could circulate this knowledge and give the trust credibility as a youth provider. All of these configurations of actors worked to strengthen attempts to create a detour, whereby funders' interests were translated into a youth trusts' programme of action. Key to the alignment of funders' interests with those of the youth trust was the continual refinement of interest maps pertaining to funder's interests. Interestment attempts were therefore assisted through configuring relationships with fund representatives and through engaging with funding documents.

Enrolling Sponsors and Donations

While many youth trusts enrolled required resources by accessing funding grants via the OPP of formal government funding applications, resources could also be enrolled through other sets of arrangements. The following discussion considers how this took place via the securing and mobilising of various forms of sponsorship and donations. This means considering not only how funds were obtained to purchase actors such as equipment, spaces, and people's time, but also how these were at times secured through non-monetary transactions such as the gifting of time and material resources.

Assembling formal sponsorship arrangements.

Sponsorship and donations of money or other actors needed to assemble a hip-hop activity were secured via a variety of arrangements, with some being more formal and requiring more negotiations than others. On the more formal end of the spectrum were instances of sponsorship obtained from corporations, brands, local businesses, local

council, as well as Crown entities.¹³¹ Some corporate sponsorship arrangements involved passing through similar obligatory passage points to those required to gain government grants. A foundation set up by a corporate such as Vodafone, for instance, required funding proposal documents to be completed. In contrast, other potential sponsors needed to be enrolled into the role of sponsor through negotiations instigated by youth trust or hip-hop group spokespersons. Here successful translation of sponsors' interests occurred through negotiating an exchange. The ANT model of translation thus provides a means to trace how sponsor support was gained. The following discussion considers some of the negotiations that took place as part of a youth trust's *interessement* strategies.

Youth trusts formed interest maps that identified potential sponsors whose interests they could align with the hip-hop-youth work activity they required sponsorship for. Just as Callon and Law (1982) describe how the scientists' decision of which journal to submit an article to was based on a prediction of the ease with which a particular journal's interests could be aligned with their research, the current study found that often times youth trust staff or young people approached businesses that were already aligned with hip-hop networks. In these cases, the translation of interests involved setting up an OPP (Callon, 1986b) that linked the advertisement of the brand or business at the hip-hop event, to the donation of actors to be used in the hip-hop activity.

Within this study, it was clear that arrangements had been set up where both businesses and their brands, and the youth trust and young people, were to benefit from their mutual involvement. For instance, Figures 6.1. demonstrates how a local hip-hop clothing store circulated its brand at a b-boy event. Posters and t-shirts with the store's logo were included in this event in exchange for the donation of clothing of brands sought after by hip-hop community members. This clothing was mobilised as prizes for the battle winners and as thank you tokens for volunteers who helped run the event.

¹³¹ Alcohol and smoke free related health promotion brands were run through Crown entities such as the Health Promotion Agency.

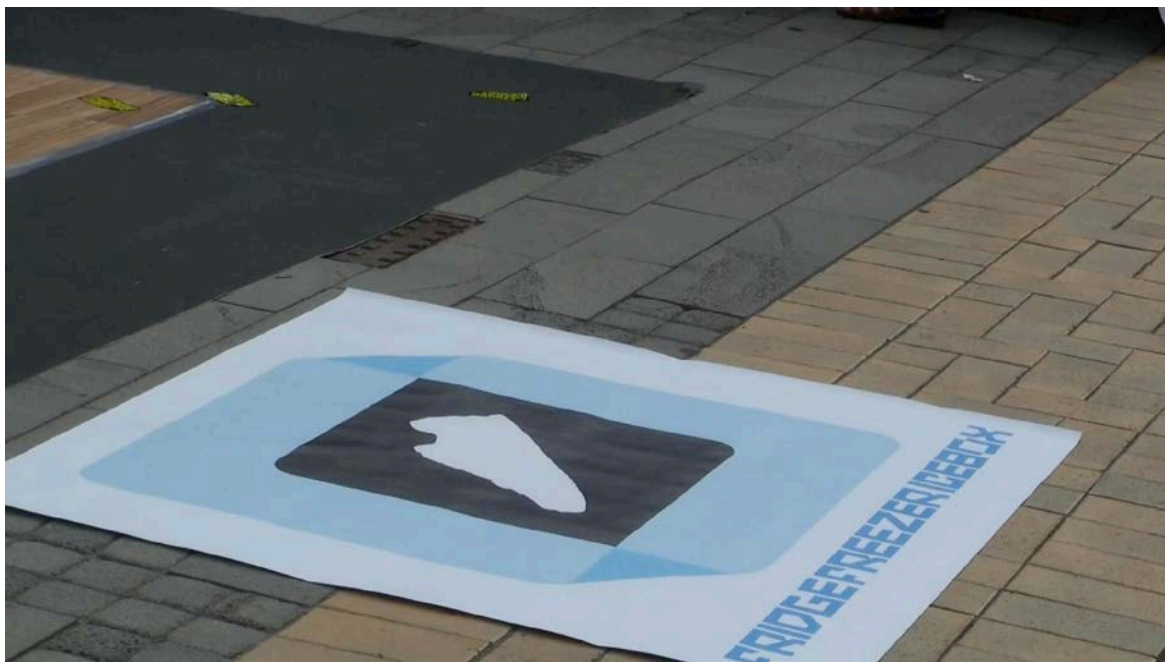


Figure 6.1. Brand advertising at a b-boy event.

In these kinds of sponsorship arrangements the youth trust benefited by enlisting sponsors that could donate actors valued in the hip-hop network that the youth trust network was seeking to support. In entering this contract the businesses benefited by having their brand circulated in advertising material, such as fliers and posters amongst a target market (Jeffs & Smith, 2010).

The negotiations that took place here are therefore different to those undertaken with some government funders. These brands had an interest in connecting with young people and being associated with hip-hop culture. Consequently, there was no need for a youth trust to adopt different language or to convince these funders of hip-hop goods. Interest maps were therefore important in shaping the editing of hip-hop enactments within negotiation and reputation work.

In other cases, gaining exposure of their brand amongst hip-hop community members was not a priority for business actors. Here different exchanges were negotiated. For instance, to enrol an air carrier to fund young people's air-fares to compete at an international hip-hop event, Mark negotiated an arrangement whereby the young people would run break dance classes as part of the air carriage's holiday programme. Here the interests of the air carrier to promote itself through offering youth holiday programme's was aligned with the young people's need for air-fares, which they would be given in exchange for their tutoring.

Sponsors were selected with care, not only because each could donate different non-monetary actors, but also because it was recognised that to enrol a sponsor often required a shift in hip-hop-youth work arrangements. Each actor added to a network can shape the network due to the requirements it places on others (Callon, 1986a; Winance, 2010). While concerns are often raised about the impact of government contracts on youth service delivery (Crimmens, et al., 2004; Jeffs & Smith, 2010), sponsors can also be seen to impact on the configuration of youth work activity. The ethical considerations around what associations a youth trust may wish to build with certain businesses have been documented by Jeffs and Smith (2010), who also note that a youth trust's choice to align with certain funders may impact upon their ability to build trust with young people.

As Latour (1987) observes, choices in allies are important if other needed allies are to be enrolled, as the presence of one actor in a network may deter others from joining. In the current study, attempts were made to enrol sponsors that would not de-stabilise the enrolment of other actors within the network. It is not always obvious which actors can have this effect (Latour, 1991, 1999b). One youth worker learnt that enrolling a sports clothing brand popular within hip-hop communities as a sponsor of a break dance event was not welcomed by the b-boys. The b-boy crew members liked the brand, but judged the sum of 500 dollars and clothing offered in exchange for prominent logo placement as exploitative. The b-boys explained that they did not wish to re-arrange the images on their promotional material for this sponsor, or be directed as to how to dress. An event planning meeting the following year saw young people excluding this sponsor from their arrangements. The same meeting also saw young people opting to not approach certain health promotion brands that were sometimes mobilised within youth work-hip-hop networks. In this instance, the young people saw the re-arrangement of the hip-hop-youth work assemblage to that of promoting a smoke-free environment as too difficult, and perhaps jeopardising youth enrolment.¹³² The agency of young people here highlights how a variety of actors exert an editing influence within the youth work-hip-hop network (Callon, 1986a; Mol, 2008).

Representatives of brands and businesses not associated with hip-hop communities required different forms of negotiation. The need for youth workers to advocate for young people in ways that challenge the negative portrayal of young people in the media (Bruce, et al., 2009) was realised in the micro-negotiations that took place in securing resources from potential sponsors. In some of these instances youth trusts needed to overcome a potential sponsor's misperceptions of hip-hop participants and activities. Here, as when recruiting government funders, the reputation of the youth organisation and its youth workers played a part in establishing trust. The presence of youth workers within the hip-hop network was seen to overcome fears of disorderly behaviour, or damage to the resources provided. Mark explained how, when securing an event venue from a local education provider, the person they were dealing with expressed uncertainty about the behaviour of hip-hop community members, and waived on their

¹³² The youth trusts in this study normally allowed young people to smoke outside.

decision to provide the space. In response, Mark took on the role of advocate as well as guarantor for the space:

We had to guarantee that we would be down there and that YTE would take responsibility for what was happening, you know. But I reassured him at the time— you know, it's all a myth, like these guys are super respectful, you are not going to have any issues.

In addition to adding the youth work actors to the network, as a way of ensuring a good event, the youth worker advocates for young people by trying to explain that most of the concerns were based on misconceptions of these hip-hop artists. Thus in a similar way as he translated b-boying for council funders, Mark negotiates with actors to work through the misconceptions they hold.

Community sponsorship.

Other common forms of sponsorship and donations are seen in the securing of contributions from community members (Jeffs & Smith, 2010; McLaughlin, 2000). Community members took the form of hip-hop participants, including hip-hop artists and their supporters in the form of friends and family. Where youth trusts were connected to a church, the church community was also mobilised (Rogers, Yancey, & Singletary, 2005). Less negotiation work was required to enrol these actors, as it was a matter of mobilising connections and interests in the hip-hop assemblage that had already been established (Latour, 1987). The mobilisation of these actors and/or the cash and material resources they were able to contribute to the network shows that resourcing hip-hop activities involved more than simply enrolling money from funders. Funding was much broader than this, in that it involved the enrolment and mobilisation of many different actors (Jeffs & Smith, 2010).

A contribution made in support of a hip-hop activity was made in payments of a koha¹³³ or gold coin donation at hip-hop events. Often this small fee was charged to cover any extra costs required to run a hip-hop event or workshop and has become a common way

¹³³ Koha is a Maori term commonly used in New Zealand to refer to a gift or monetary donation.

of resourcing youth work. Here the money actor mobilised and determined what other actors could join the hip-hop-youth work assemblage (Latour, 1996). For instance, for YTA, charging a gold coin donation at the door meant that they were able to rent the lighting and sound system required to create a club like environment for their hip-hop dance parties.

E: Does it cost much for you guys to run them?

P: Not really. I think we have figured out ways, like the money we get on the gate will pay for the gear that we use.

E: Do you have to hire stuff?

P: Yeah, we have to hire the sound and lighting. And me and Joseph can provide the DJ equipment. So it is just the sound and lighting, we have to get a good grunty sound just cos of the numbers and the size of the venue and stuff like that.

In this assemblage, funders were not directly enrolled. The youth trust only had a small funding gap to fill. They did not have to obtain additional funds because they were able to mobilise actors within their youth trust assemblage. YTE utilised their youth centre space as a venue, and mobilised their youth workers to provide not only youth work supervision, but to also take up the dance party roles of DJ or bouncer. They also enrolled the DJ equipment already in alliance with the youth worker. Consequently, the youth trust was only missing a couple of actors to create a dance party assemblage of interest to young people. A small cover fee enabled the completion of the hip-hop dance party assemblage, as it enabled the youth trust to secure the required equipment. This example shows how resources that can be mobilised free of need for additional funding keep the cost of the hip-hop event to a minimum, maintaining its accessibility to youth (McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994). This enabled YTE to avoid investing resources in engaging in negotiations with funders and sponsors to gain the additional funds needed for a hip-hop event.

In addition to monetary koha, donations from community members took the form of gifts of time, knowledge and skills as well as the mobilisation of any actors they had that could be of use to the hip-hop assemblage. Many guest judges and hip-hop workshop teachers donated their time and expertise to the network on request of another hip-hop

community member. Often, friends of a youth worker or youth organisers filled in gaps in assemblages. For instance, b-boy John had a friend help him organise a b-boy event, and even donate funds she had accrued to produce her own arts event. As Haxell (2012), found in her study of the resourcing of a youth help line, “friends of friends” were just as important (p. 221), as resources were located and mobilised through these social networks. For instance, finding accommodation for guest judges visiting Christchurch for a hip-hop event was found this way. Without the enlistment of these non-human accommodation actors such as beds, homes, and rooms in motels, hotels or halls of residence, these human actors could not be brought into the assemblage—threatening the viability of a hip-hop event. Here the value of “networking” and the relationship work this entailed is revealed (Haxell, 2012; McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994).

The church community connected to a youth trust was equally important in mobilising funds and resources for youth trust activities. Church community members were readily enlisted into a hip-hop programme of action when they knew they were supporting the work of the church. Here youth workers positioned voluntary work or the donation of resources and funds to a hip-hop activity or event as an obligatory passage point for church members to support the church. In addition to church members and young people’s family and friends paying a koha on the door,¹³⁴ Aroha had church volunteers help her run her concert, filling roles such as entry desk operator, seating set up and clean up, lighting, music, and MC. The church network also provided many of the other materials, ranging from a church family lending a video camera, to the church itself enabling the use of its sound and lighting equipment, and stage venue. Cash offerings made by the church congregation to the church helped the church provide resources. For instance, one church provided funds to contribute to the lease of a youth venue, while another invested in building dance studios in the church building. Churches also made contributions to youth worker salaries. The church therefore provided a source of sustainable resources for hip-hop activities.

¹³⁴ Koha is commonly used in New Zealand to refer to a monetary contribution, such as in this case where participants were asked for a gold coin donation.

Mobilising Actors and Alliances

As some of the above examples showed, resources for hip-hop activities could be enlisted when a youth trust mobilised actors already enrolled within their network. The following discussion further considers how actors a youth trust had already enrolled, together with these actors' alliances, were mobilised to resource hip-hop activities. I consider how the mobilisation of untagged funds was used to secure resources for hip-hop activities. However, many of these actors were not simply enlisted through obtaining untagged funds. Some of these actors were not secured through funding networks, or were only partially supported through these networks. I trace how the centrality of an actor to a hip-hop-youth work network, be it a youth worker, young person, or community partner, was related to the connections they had or could help build with other actors.

Mobilising untagged funds.

So far, I have shown a youth trust could choose to mobilise a range of actors within their networks to resource a hip-hop activity or event. They could do this instead of engaging in negotiations to obtain additional funds from sponsors or government actors. However, more often they did this to supplement funds received for their general activities. As discussed earlier, oftentimes money was not sought for specific programmes, but for generic projects linked to youth venue spaces and youth worker salaries.

Untagged funds have been identified as a preferred source of funding for youth work activities and spaces by various authors (Bruce et al., 2009; McLaughlin, 2000). In the current study, untagged funding obtained for the youth trust and its general activities enabled the youth trust to resource hip-hop activities. For YTA this meant prioritising youth needs and interests over those related to staff comfort. YTA manager Kay described how they invested in supporting the b-boys after the large earthquakes hit Christchurch by laying vinyl in their new premises:

And that cost a lot of money to get done, but we thought it was really worthwhile and valuable I used some of that earthquake response funding for that, because that was about 2,500 dollars it cost to put that down, but we got that earthquake response money, and we wanted to see that go towards young people directly, and not get chewed up on things that might be about staff comfort, it was more about the young people.

Likewise, some youth trusts also channelled funds into hip-hop activities through mobilising funds for specific activities applied for in a joint funding application. For example, as was described earlier, YTE channelled funds in this way in order to fund their hip-hop music workshop project. They did so by pairing it in a joint funding application with one of their popular services.

Similarly, funds acquired for core youth trust activities used to acquire many of the youth trust's resources allowed the trust to support hip-hop activities. Kay described why no direct funding application was required for them to provide b-boys with a practice space: "It doesn't really cost us anything for them to come here, we have a building here, you know, they may run a light. So it doesn't really throw our budget out because they come here". As mentioned, youth trusts were in different positions regarding whether they needed to acquire funds for a specific hip-hop activity. In this case YTE was able to mobilise resources funded through other funding applications. Thus, funds enrolled through assembling a variety of obligatory passage points for funders were therefore mobilised to secure resources for hip-hop activities.

Mobilising staff and young people together with their alliances.

I turn now to examine how youth workers, young people, and organisations that had collaborated with a youth trust, mobilised both their time, skill and knowledge, as well the non-human actors they were attached to in order to resource hip-hop activities.

Youth workers' time, skills, and alliances were enlisted through a youth trust acquiring funds for their salaries. Once enrolled within a youth work network, youth workers were flexible with their time and took on a variety of roles to help run a youth activity. This was often the case in hip-hop activities and events that were run outside of school or youth venue opening hours. Within the hip-hop-youth work assemblages they often worked in a supervisory, event management or hip-hop artist role. For instance, as mentioned above, YTA found that they could run their hip-hop dance party events without applying for additional funding, through mobilising youth workers with the relevant skill sets into the roles of bouncer and DJ.¹³⁵ Bloustein and Peters (2011) note that youth arts activities within community-based organisations are often reliant upon staff that can take on the dual roles of artist mentor and youth worker, so to stretch limited funds. As a fluid actor taking on many roles, these youth workers in the current study thereby filled many of the resourcing gaps in the hip-hop event assemblage.

In activities "run for and by youth" young people were vital to a hip-hop activity taking place. Young people took on voluntary roles as hip-hop mentors, mentoring other young people in a hip-hop art form. In addition, some young people volunteered to be hip-hop event organisers. The enlistment of young people's and youth workers' labour saw a youth trust able to run hip-hop events and activities at little cost, thus minimising the need for additional funds.

Many actors could also be mobilised into the youth work-hip-hop network through their attachments to human actors already enrolled within the network. Youth trust staff and young people brought in a range of equipment that the hip-hop activities required. These materials ranged from canvases and spray paints for a graffiti demonstration, songs and music players in dance assemblages, to DJ's and music producers' mobilisation of music production technologies.

Human actors bringing in their own gear (such as high quality brand spray paints, turntables and mixers, laptops and music production software) was especially important for the enactment of hip-hop assemblages that required expensive

¹³⁵ YTA was fortunate in that one of their youth workers had previously worked as a bouncer, and two of their staff worked as DJs in the city's clubs and local hip-hop radio station.

equipment. This provision of resources prevented youth work assemblages being constrained from running hip-hop events or activities due to unsecured funding, and meant they could provide quality activities and events at low cost to the organisation, its funders, and the young people themselves. This was evident in the assemblage of YTE's hip-hop music production workshops. Here the youth worker-hip-hop artists keen to set up this new programme, both volunteered their time as youth workers and hip-hop mentors, and also enrolled their personal music production equipment. They did so with the intention of being able to begin running the workshops without having to wait for the enrolment of funders. So while funders were still seen to form a potential part of the resourcing network, the activity was not reliant upon their enrolment. This also meant the young people retained the freedom to run activities as they wished, as they were not dependent on a funder's enrolment.

Resourcing gaps in hip-hop activities driven by youth, where youth utilised youth trusts resources, often relied upon young people themselves mobilising non-human actors into the youth trust assemblage. For instance, b-boys using youth trust venues to practice and jam often brought in their own music. B-boys spoke of how they preferred to provide their own; this had the advantage of enacting the hip-hop activity in the form they wanted, and left them free to collaborate with youth trusts who did not necessarily have youth workers knowledgeable in their hip-hop element and thus did not know what music to provide. Furthermore, b-boys' mobile equipment meant a hip-hop assemblage could still be configured if an actor within a youth trust was broken.

Latour (1991) describes how substitutions in actors may take place that see a network continue to perform. In this study, Tobias described how young people brought in their docks for their i-pods in place of the youth trust's stereo that had broken down. This substitution enabled young people to carry on using the venue for their dance activities. By young people bringing their own hip-hop resources into the youth trust space, the youth trust operating with limited funds did not constrain the enactment of hip-hop. As was revealed in Chapter Four, the compatibility of a youth trust's space with the materials young people required for their activities was important for a hip-hop activity to be assembled (Bloustein & Peters, 2011). A youth trust's openness to connecting with technical actors in alliance with young people therefore gave youth organisations

flexibility in how they were composed. This adaptability meant youth trusts did not have to possess hip-hop expertise within them, or specific hip-hop materials in order to support young people in the enactment of hip-hop.

Mobilising community partners and their alliances.

Resources were also mobilised via relationships already built with other community organisations. Collaborations between NGO's saw the enlistment of needed actors, due to the sharing of resources this arrangement allowed. When community organisations worked together to provide a hip-hop activity or event, their networks mobilised a range of young people, youth workers, funds and other non-human actors. Community organisations that came together to put on a hip-hop activity or event shared actors such as vans, venues, sound systems, hip-hop tutors, MC's, DJ's, youth work supervisors, and the young people themselves, who could also act as tutors, and event organisers, or simply widen the range of youth participants they could involve and reach.

The sharing of resources through collaboration between community organisations was important in a range of situations. As will be explored in the following chapter, collaborating with others allowed gaps in resources to be filled so hip-hop activities could be run. Forming these relationships provided flexibility in how the hip-hop-youth work assemblage was to be constituted (Latour, 1991). In some cases, this was crucial for the initiation or survival of a hip-hop activity; in others, it was simply a way to make funds spread further and provide a better event or activity for youth. In other cases, this sharing took place in order to deliver a large youth initiative, such as in community events, not run by a particular youth organisation, which required the skills of a variety of youth workers, and their connections to youth so to mobilise a range of youth as volunteers.

However, within the competitive funding environment, some youth providers found that not all organisations were immediately amenable to the idea of working together. It has been suggested that relationship building is key to establishing and maintaining interagency collaboration (Aitkinson, 2007; Haxell, 2012). Within the current study, the trading of resources formed part of the work of negotiating boundaries and areas for

collaboration within the competitive funding environment. Scott explained how YTE, as a new organisation, had undertaken this strategy:

When talking to some older, or more established organisations they see it as more of a threat that you are coming and talking to them, cos 'hold on a minute' we are all going for the same dollar sometimes, so it's like there's that threat. Whereas if we work together we can achieve more. So that is the attitude we like to take, so we like to be quite open with other people, we're like—we've got resources in terms of DJing and sounds systems, and we like to offer what we can in that regard. . . . Let's bring them together. Yep. Or 'how can we help you deliver your service better'.

Scott illustrates how the interests of one organisation were translated into joint activity with their organisation, through the mobilisation of resources. This indicates a classic formation of an OPP in order for both groups to achieve their goals (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987). Here we can see that the resources a trust has within its network, such as DJ and sound equipment, themselves plays a role in instigating collaborations between organisations. Both human and non-human actors mobilise these collaborations. Thus, not only do funding documents, as described earlier in this chapter, contribute to this coming together of actors, but so too does the need for certain actors for a hip-hop activity to take place. "Things" mobilise people and change relationships (Fenwick, 2010). The latter is made clear in the following chapter, where the role of heterogeneous actors in forming connections between youth trusts is explored in more depth.

Conclusion

The enrolment of young people in these hip-hop-youth work activities was dependent on a range of human and non-human actors being brought together. In this chapter I have outlined how these actors were enlisted into the youth trust assemblage. In doing so I have shown that hip-hop initiatives can indeed find support from actors both within and outside of the youth trust. This is the result of translation work, in which interest in supporting the youth trust and its endeavours was produced through creating an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) for actors connected to needed resources to pass

through to obtain their goals. Simultaneously, successful translation also required passing through OPPs set up by these funding and resourcing actors. Here various configurations of actors were both mobilised and translated into funding documents, and conversations and displays with fund and resource representatives. Using the ANT model of translation, mobilising resources can thus be seen to be the product of the collective work of humans and non-humans.

Tracing negotiations with a variety of actors enrolled as part of hip-hop resource provision revealed that these OPPs could take a variety of forms. How an OPP was configured by a youth trust depended on the youth trust's predictions of the goals and interests of a particular funder, sponsor, or community. Key to their assemblage was the formation and continual adaption of interest maps. For instance, the OPP assembled to enrol a funder interested in supporting community events, but uncertain of the appropriateness of a hip-hop activity, was different to that used to interest a sponsor wishing to promote their brand with a hip-hop community. Each involved mobilising different actors to interest the potential funder or sponsor. Consequently OPP's took shape within particular sets of negotiations.

Concerns have been raised in the youth studies literature regarding who shapes youth work activities (Flowers, 1998; Jeffs & Smith, 2010; McLaughlin, 2000; Spence, 2008). As Spence (2008) and Woodruff (2009) have noted, youth trusts can utilise discourse to create a fit between their initiatives and that of various funders' agendas. The current study also found language was important in order to position hip-hop activities as part of an OPP for government funders to achieve their aims. However, hip-hop was enacted in different ways across sites—dependent upon whether the trust was communicating with funders or young people. It was shown that youth trusts could enlist funder support for hip-hop by not changing its terms of reference in interaction with young people. These different versions of hip-hop were not seen to interfere with each other. However, in other situations, the shape of a youth work-hip-hop event was clearly shaped by the demands of a particular funder. This was the case with sponsors who had their own criteria for how events should look so to showcase their product, or advertise their health message. It is therefore interesting to note that young people were given the

choice to exclude these potential sources of funds and resources from their hip-hop event.

Choosing to exclude one actor connected to needed resources was enabled through the ability to substitute them with another actor. Community links in terms of church members or hip-hop community members, provided ample opportunities for youth trusts to retain some choice in how they assembled their hip-hop activities.

Furthermore, the availability of untagged funding enabled resources to be mobilised in support of hip-hop activities. Youth trusts therefore found ways to retain the innovation and flexibility in their service provision that Wood and Hine (2009) state is at threat when a youth organisation works within the bounds of a targeted contract. The presence of a range of resourcing actors in the youth trust network enabled youth trusts to enact hip-hop in ways that were negotiated primarily between the young people and youth workers through various means of collective editing as described in Chapter Five. At the same time, some youth trusts also enacted hip-hop within the funding emphasis of the time (McLaughlin, 2000), by mobilising hip-hop actors and groups within local and central government funding applications.

Choices to forego investing limited resources in gaining additional funder support, or to choose to exclude one funder or sponsor from the network, had implications for the configuration of hip-hop events and activities. Youth workers noted that while they could enact hip-hop within their work, they were limited in the size of events they could run. Many spoke of the wish to enrol bigger venues, or more experienced hip-hop artists to teach or perform. These compromises were blamed on a lack of resources to enlist the needed actors to realise these alternative hip-hop event and activity arrangements. Some trusts were in the process of developing activities out of less than ideal materials, “improvising” until more funding or resources could be secured. In contrast, others had reached a point where they could assemble activities and events that mirrored those offered by businesses in the private sector, such as commercial clubs and dance studios.

This chapter also revealed how unstable connections with funders and other resourcing actors are responded to via creative and flexible resourcing strategies. This was evident in the strategies used to enrol funders, and in the range of alliances forged and mobilised

to directly enlist needed resources. Building relationships with a variety of actors meant funding-resourcing assemblages could be adapted in response to shifts in actors within the current funding-resourcing arrangement, as other actors could be mobilised in their place. Such flexibility saw hip-hop resource provision take on a more enduring quality than the fragility that may be expected from such precarious funding arrangements. Even the most stable funding-resourcing assemblages can be rendered instable in unexpected ways. When a series of high-magnitude earthquakes shook the New Zealand city of Christchurch and the Canterbury region it is located within, many youth, youth trusts, resources, and the buildings that they operated from, were impacted. The importance of flexibility in terms of responding to instability in hip-hop funding-resourcing arrangements is explored in more depth in the following chapter in relation to the unpredicted instability created by these earthquakes. The story of one youth trust seeking to continue hip-hop activity in the face of ongoing and unpredictable shifts in resource availability following a natural disaster is presented. This discussion reveals the development of new interest maps and exposes the creative and flexible resourcing strategies involved in the reconfiguring of funding-resourcing assemblages.

Chapter Seven: Reconfigurations: Engaging Youth Within a Shifting Landscape of Relations

Introduction

On September 4, 2010, a magnitude 7.1 earthquake hit the Canterbury region and the city of Christchurch. Another very destructive earthquake occurred five months later on February 22, 2011. Christchurch city was shaken by a magnitude 6.3 earthquake, which resulted in fatalities and widespread destruction. These two major earthquakes were subsequently followed by a series of hundreds of damaging seismic events. Many buildings used for hip-hop events, equipment, resources, roads to access the city, and people's homes were destroyed, damaged, or deemed unsafe due to other dangers around them. Consequently, there were immediate impacts on hip-hop youth work enactments.

These drastic and unexpected shifts in the city of Christchurch's landscape instantly created the need for multiple changes to the webs of relations in which the youth trusts operated. So far this thesis has documented the fluid nature and malleability of hip-hop-youth work enactments. This chapter extends those discussions, and explores the flexibility that was evident within youth work-hip-hop arrangements following these major seismic events. In this final chapter, I follow one youth trust's attempts to re-assemble hip-hop-youth work activities. The slices of practice described in this chapter reveal the uncertainty and improvisation of socio-material practices involved in the ongoing assemblage of hip-hop-youth work activities.

Latour (2005) argues that both innovations in the making, as well as situations where an actor breaks down, provide opportunities to follow the traces left by actors in a network. Natural disasters, such as the earthquakes that shook the greater Christchurch region, thus offer a unique opportunity to explore the workings of hip-hop-youth work assemblages. Established actors within such assemblages can be seen as black boxes, damage to which makes visible their component parts/actors (Latour, 2005). In addition, tracing how damaged actors are substituted for others to ensure that the

network can continue provides the opportunity to explore how networks evolve. While Chapter Three described in some detail the ways in which hip-hop networks can evolve and change, the speed and degree of change required in response to the ongoing seismic events was unprecedented.

Using an ANT perspective, catastrophic events show how “things might have been otherwise” (Bijker & Law, 1992, p. 3). Here the heterogeneous ties that hold various actors in place can be examined (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1987, 1991, 1999b). The ties that hold actors together in a network become visible—including both the alliances that cannot be broken, as well as those that are flexible (Latour, 1991, 1999b).

In this chapter I specifically follow the reconfigurations that occurred in the hip-hop assemblages of YTE. As an inner city youth trust, YTE experienced many changes to its webs of relations following the damaging September 2010 and February 2011 earthquakes. YTE’s hip-hop activities experienced multiple disruptions and had to be reconfigured several times. Some of its hip-hop activities also failed to re-assemble in the year following the initial quake in 2010. As such, YTE provides a case study through which to explore the mutability of youth work-hip-hop assemblages.

Youth spaces constituted an important element of the assemblages configured by the youth trusts in this study to enrol young people in a youth work-hip-hop activity. A youth venue formed an integral part of YTE’s assemblage. This chapter looks at the loss of YTE’s venue actors that occurred as a result of the September 2010 and February 2011 earthquakes. The loss of this actor mobilised a raft of changes to YTE’s network, as YTE sought to enlist substitute actors in efforts to retain its identity as a trust and maintain its ability to connect with and provide support for young people. I therefore draw on Latour’s (2005) advice to follow the breakdown of an actor within an assemblage in order to understand the workings of YTE’s hip-hop-youth work networks. In this chapter I follow YTE’s attempts to regain network stability. In doing so, I examine the flexibility of the YTE network and the actors within it (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1991). This chapter therefore explores when, where and how actors within this youth trust were replaced, or were able to work in a flexible way with new actors, to enact hip-hop

activities. It also explores where the limitations and ends to the enactment of particular sets of youth work-hip-hop socio-material practices lay.

A City Re-Configured

As mentioned above, a magnitude 7.1 earthquake occurred near Christchurch at 4.35 a.m. on Saturday 4 September 2010. Despite the strong shaking, the quake did not result in any deaths. However, numerous buildings, predominantly pre-1940 brick and masonry buildings were damaged. Many of these were in the inner city, which was cordoned off for several weeks. On Tuesday 22 February 2011 at 12.51 p.m. Christchurch experienced a magnitude 6.3 earthquake that killed 185 people and injured several thousand. The February earthquake brought down many buildings previously damaged in the September 2010 earthquake and its aftershocks. Over half of the buildings in the central business district were assessed as needing to be demolished. Christchurch's central business district (CBD) remained cordoned off for more than two years after the earthquake (McSaveney, 2013a). Critically, the CBD was the area where most hip-hop activities occurred in Christchurch.

Liquefaction after the February earthquake was much more extensive than in September 2010.¹³⁶ Properties and streets were buried in thick layers of silt, and water and sewage from broken pipes. In many places, liquefaction caused the ground above the liquidised layers to subside leaving ground surfaces uneven, cracking footpaths, roads and buildings (McSaveney, 2013b). These earthquake events de-stabilised multiple networks within the city, creating new youth needs. Inner city organisations such as YTE were faced not only with a lack of access to the inner city; but also by a new series of youth issues,¹³⁷ as schools, transport, as well as recreation and socialising realities were substantially changed for young people for months after the quake.

The reconfiguration of the city saw new challenges for young people (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority [CERA], 2014b). For many, schools and the school day

¹³⁶ Liquefaction happens during earthquakes when ground shaking causes certain soils to liquefy at which point they behave like a liquid (Environment Canterbury, n.d).

¹³⁷ See Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (2014) for survey results on the impact of the quakes on Canterbury young people.

were reassembled. Schools that had buildings now inhospitable due to earthquake damage were required to share the grounds and facilities of another school—a phenomenon that became known as site sharing. This arrangement saw schooling take place for one school in the morning, while the other then began in the afternoon. Start and ending times for the school day were thereby re-assembled, changing the time recreation could take place, with some young people left with time to fill in the morning, while another group had longer afternoons with unscheduled activity. For some, increased transport times meant little time was left for socialising activities.

Transport too was re-assembled. Traffic flows were slow following the closing of many streets in the centre of town and elsewhere, and damaged roads made any trip arduous for young people and their caregivers (see Figures 7.1 & 7.2). In addition, the destruction of many buildings around Christchurch, and the cordon in the inner city, meant many recreation facilities were no longer accessible, nor were the majority of urban spaces. Many school halls, churches, sport and recreation centres were unable to be used. Public spaces such as the city square and city mall were also no longer available for young people to congregate within. The shortage of spaces for hanging out and recreation saw increased competition for remaining space. These new city arrangements opened up both challenges and new opportunities for enrolling young people in youth work-hip-hop assemblages.



Figure 7.1. Damage to road infrastructure in Christchurch.

Note. Earthquake Damage Sign by Mark Lincoln. Available under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/marklincoln/5939113628>



Figure 7.2. Fitzgerald Avenue Earthquake Damage Close Up by Mark Lincoln.

Note. Available under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/marklincoln/5518626349/in/set-72157626176919230>

Re-assembling Youth Trust E

YTE experienced many changes to its webs of relations as a result of the earthquakes. The following discussion considers how changes to YTE's central city venue actor mobilised YTE to reconfigure its youth space assemblage. I draw on Latour's (1991, 1999b) advice to follow the new associations and substitutions of actors that take place when a network evolves.

This ANT lens provides insight into how YTE's hip-hop-youth work spaces were assembled post-quake. Following the impact of the transformation of YTE's venue actor on the rest of the network highlights how YTE was mobilised to work with new actors (such as different funding bodies and community partners), and thus engage in further negotiations and relationship work. The continuation and transformation of YTE's network was dependent on the flexibility of the other actors making up the network, who were required to engage in new practices and work with new actors. This focus enables me to document the implications these new arrangements had for continued hip-hop activity with young people in the post-quake environment.

Re-assembling Youth Trust E in the wake of the 2010 earthquake.

The September 2010 seismic activity left YTE's inner city "HQ" building damaged and inhabitable (see Figure 7.3). Mark reports how YTE's building was reconfigured following the earthquake.

I got to go in and have a look at the building, and we had a monster crack down the side and a yellow sticker on the door saying that we could go in but not operate from there.

The yellow sticker that Mark refers to transformed the capacity of YTE HQ to function as a youth venue. Being "yellow stickered",¹³⁸ YTE's HQ was enacted with a new meaning: it

¹³⁸ A coloured sticker system let owners and others know the degree of risk to entering the building, due to damage to the building itself or adjoining buildings (Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, 2011).

was no longer the safe, inner city sanctum for young people, but a potential life risk (see Figure 7.4).



Figure 7.3. Visible earthquake damage on YTE's youth venue.

The yellow placard indicated a building was to be under conditions of restricted use (see Figure 7.4). A red sticker denied entry, while a green sticker allowed normal use.



Figure 7.4. Yellow Sticker, Hereford Street Dairy by Moata Tamaira.

Note. Available under CC-BY-NC 3.0 NZ at

http://ketechristchurch.peoplesnetworknz.info/canterbury_earthquakes_2010_2011/images/show/11824-yellow-sticker-hereford-st-dairy

The addition of the yellow sticker to the venue assemblage reconfigured the building. This inscription, working as part of a wider network of post-quake rapid building risk evaluation, enacted the building as lacking structural integrity, and as being of questionable safety. Consequently, YTE had to re-evaluate whether to keep the building in their network. Here the once stable actor became an unstable element of their network. They were dependent on the landlord deciding to invest in re-strengthening the building, a decision which was not for certain.

Other buildings in the city were similarly rendered uninhabitable through visible earthquake damage that saw them either red or yellow stickered. This resulted in changes to the inner city's configuration that in turn saw changes to the businesses positioned around YTE's HQ. This change had the potential to impact on YTE's identity

through association with their new business neighbours. Some businesses had to relocate following extensive damage to their buildings following the September quake (see Figure 7.5).



Figure 7.5. Badly damaged shops in the CBD September 6th 2010.

Note. Badly damaged shop in the CBD by Mike Campbell, available under CC BY-ND 2.0 at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/79799328@N00/4963385637>.

Some buildings within the CBD had to be demolished. For example, a neighbouring building, previously occupied by a fellow youth not-for-profit organisation that had recently ceased operations, became occupied by a sex shop that had relocated there due to earthquake damage to its original inner city premises. Meanwhile, the building on the other side of YTE that housed a variety of businesses was demolished. This made a nearby strip club their other neighbour. Although sex related businesses had always been a part of the inner city landscape, the absence of other businesses and community

organisations within this area emphasised the proximity of YTE to these actors. YTE's management predicted this change in associations could jeopardise their reputation and consequent attempts to secure future council funding:

But the council have come to see us, saying 'oh, you are not going back in there are you?' And because they fund us, they do sort of have like have the leash on a wee bit, you know, like we can't be seen funding this or this, or people who do this, or people who work above sex shops. They are quite prudish. I just think they are on the more conservative side of things. . . . So we are not going back there eh.

Therefore, the current location of their venue could potentially compromise their reputation as a youth work provider. To maintain the council as a funder within their network, efforts were made to counter potential anti-programmes emerging through the reconfiguration of their HQ's location. YTE decided their location was no longer suitable by utilising interest maps (Callon & Law, 1982) of what they thought the council would envision to be a good environment for young people. The interest map of council's ideas of what constitutes an appropriate use of council funds to support young people thereby shaped their post-earthquake decision to enrol a different venue actor. As ANT researchers Law and Singleton (2013) have noted, choices to select some actors over others are shaped by interactions with other actors in the web of relations of which the project is a part.

The decision to re-assemble YTE's venue provision was made possible through several charities and institutions offering to share their buildings with YTE. Here they had a certain amount of choice, as the city after the 2010 earthquakes had not lost too many buildings. Mark noted that:

Luckily through really good relationships we had built in the last year, a lot of charities just put their hand out and said we were welcome to 'come and stay with us'.

Latour (1991, 1999b) notes that new associations sometimes have to be made in order to enrol new set of actors. As will be explored in more depth below, YTE enlisted substitute venue actors by collaborating with other community partners.

After the September 2010 earthquake YTE chose to work with an inner city school as enlistment of the school's spaces enabled them to continue to provide young people with youth recreation and meeting spaces. YTE was given access to the school's spaces when they were available at the end of the school day. In addition, another organisation offered to share their office space venue with YTE for their daily administration tasks earlier in the day. To complete the substitute assemblage, YTE staff mobilised inner-city cafes as venues for meetings with funders and community partners. As will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter, they predicted the school space to be stable as well as offering the most resources and possibilities for sustaining their youth activities and connection with young people. Thus, as of October 2010, YTE had become the product of a set of distributed, yet stable, venue arrangements. However this stability was not realised for long.

(Re)re-assembling Youth Trust E in the wake of the 2011 earthquake.

After the February 2011 quake event, YTE were forced to re-assemble yet again. The abovementioned buildings that they were operating within were rendered inaccessible due to the inner-city cordon: these buildings were ultimately red stickered (deemed unsafe for habitation) and later assessed as requiring demolition. With damage to so many buildings from this quake, and subsequent aftershocks, lease costs of available buildings skyrocketed, making accommodation inaccessible to many organisations and businesses.

The reduction in venue options saw YTE having to enrol substitute building actors. YTE initially found a house to use as their office space. It was next door to a café that enabled YTE to hold meetings. However, they could not find a stable HQ venue to replace the inner city school space that they had been using. Though community organisations and institutions with useable buildings offered their venue for activity use, YTE had to share these venues with a range of groups.

The paucity of venues in the city as a whole meant multiple community groups were forced to share the remaining spaces. This meant any venue, if available, could not be used on a permanent daily basis: shared space also meant that the building and other material actors within it could not be configured to suit some hip-hop assemblages. Thus unlike the set of arrangements YTE were able to configure post the September 2010 quake, where one stable actor (in the form of the inner-city school) was enrolled as a youth venue HQ, YTE was forced to enlist multiple actors in the form of schools, churches and other spaces attached to various youth and community trusts around the city. Even the use of shared space was not stable: buildings were frequently rendered unstable through short contract work that secured short term leases, while other buildings also became unstable through their change in sticker status (a frequent occurrence as buildings in the CBD underwent ongoing structural assessments following high magnitude aftershocks).

The interest maps of youth needs post quake also shaped YTE's reconfiguration decisions. These interest maps presented young peoples' alliances as now being with different spaces. No longer able to hang out or pass through the city centre, young people were restricted to sites in the suburbs, such as local parks and shopping malls. Though the inner city was considered to be a good site to re-assemble following the September 2010 quake, following the February 2011 earthquake, the inner city was cordoned off and transport networks were considerably disrupted. Many shipping containers, fences, and road cones, along with other non-human actors began to influence options for YTE as the redevelopment of interest maps continued.

Red and yellow stickers played a role here, too; they communicated the fact that the majority of inner city buildings had been assessed as unsafe for occupancy. The appearance of these actors was instrumental in YTE's reconfiguration decision that the suburbs were a better location for connecting with youth. In order to enrol and support young people within the suburbs, YTE enrolled a couple of vans into their network. These vans enabled YTE to transport their workers and resources to set up activities in a range of locations and venues in the suburbs. Without these technical actors, the other venue actors could not be enrolled in the network. YTE's need to connect with a range of

youth venues in order to support youth activities thus saw them enrol these additional non-human actors into their network.

This assemblage of “going mobile” thus emerged as a response to multiple shifts in YTE’s webs of relations: the absence of a green sticker and stable venue and new anti-programmes for engaging with youth in the reconfigured city, such as a lack of transport, and youth hang out spaces in the city (CERA, 2014b). YTE’s ability to work collaboratively also resulted from their alliance with a new actor in the form of a work van.

Importantly, as will be discussed below, new opportunities post-quake were made possible with the availability and negotiation of new funds. YTE were able to purchase the vans from such funding. Vans made transporting resources and running events in a range of locations easier, strengthening and reconfiguring YTE’s collaborative practices with other youth institutions and youth trusts. Just as Latour (1987, 1991) shows how innovations evolve in response to shifts in other actors, YTE’s substitution of their central city youth venue with a van plus multiple venues around the city saw their youth resource assemblage evolve to suit a changing environment. These shifts in their network were vital for YTE’s survival.

While enacting their mobile service delivery, YTE held a hui (meeting) to consult with youth about what form of resource delivery they would like in the future. The young people at the hui expressed a desire for a fixed youth venue. Though YTE planned to work towards securing a venue hub for YTE activities, turning this into a reality was not possible. At the time of this study, a suitable venue was not present within the city’s web of relations. Their mobile strategy thus had to suffice until a permanent venue could be found.

Tracing the substitutions and new associations of actors made in the ongoing (re)assembling of YTE highlights how the network’s survival was dependent upon the flexibility of the network itself. The co-existence of multiple forms of doing YTE shows that it could reassemble and exist in multiple forms while maintaining a coherent identity. It had gone from a central HQ with some mobile service delivery around youth

events, to providing a youth space by becoming a manager of a school's community resources, to then reconfiguring as a completely mobile service. These reconfigurations emerged through substitutions in resourcing actors, where a run-down central city venue was replaced with a well-resourced school space, which was then substituted by multiple community spaces. The reconfigurations involved shifts in practices rather than a shift in the youth trust's purpose per se, as Scott, the chairperson explained:

I guess why we do things hasn't changed. The reason for YTE being and the outcomes for young people really hasn't changed, it's just the *how* has been what's changed. So we have gone from being a centralised venue to a mobile service, and it has been really good to have that flexibility to do that, and to have that evolution, because then, taking the next step and having a centralised venue, which is more developed and what young people want, then that will be another evolution of it, you know. And then the next question is do we keep on doing mobile services? And you know, what happens when we do go into the central city? And yeah, that will be another change.

YTE embraced flexibility in its resource arrangements and the change in actors required for this. Changes in actors within a network see a network and its actors co-evolve (Latour, 1991). As such, despite retaining its identity, YTE and its activities did not stay the same. YTE's socio-material practices continued to evolve. Interestingly, the instability of arrangements did not threaten YTE's existence, but rather it was this change in actors that guaranteed YTE's continued presence in the community.

Reconfiguring Resourcing Arrangements

In order for YTE to achieve this flexibility in their youth venue arrangements and thus their continuation, YTE had to form new alliances, as well as reconfigure relationships with allies in their network. According to Latour (1987), the choices in alliance and the collaborations embarked upon are linked to the ties that are needed to translate other elements into the network. In the current study, the requirement for certain resources led to actors mobilising to form new sets of alliances. Negotiations had to be undertaken with a variety of funders as well as community partners to secure a venue and/or

mobile actors (either directly through the actor's alliance with needed actors or through the enlistment of funds). In the following discussion, network flexibility is examined by tracing the new sets of associations that were assembled within YTE's resourcing network. In order for the YTE network to sustain itself and adapt to the damage of its HQ venue, flexibility was required on behalf of YTE as well as the funders and community partners it enlisted.

Flexible funding practices.

The series of earthquakes and ongoing seismic activity in the greater Christchurch area saw funding and resourcing realities change considerably for many youth trusts. The city was left with a large bill for infrastructure; this had an impact on the council's ability to be a central funding source for community organisations. However, this period of recovery for community services was not resource-poor. Earthquake response funds could be applied for. These funds were formed through donations made to the city earthquake relief effort and were managed by a variety of trusts.¹³⁹ Businesses also made donations directly to youth trusts. In addition, the central government recognised the need to provide additional support for youth. The earthquake event thus saw some funding actors gain new capacities to fund youth activities, while other funders' capacities became depleted. In addition to these shifts in funders' alliances with funds, change was seen in the addition of actors to funding arrangements, with new funders in the youth and community sector funding network.

Chapter Six highlighted that youth trusts such as YTE benefited from taking a flexible approach in assembling the resources needed to run hip-hop activities. Responses to shifts in the funding environment required flexibility in terms of the funding or resourcing actors a trust enrolled as well as the arrangements it configured to pass through various funding obligatory passage points. This flexible approach to securing resources was also applied in the post-quake funding environment. YTE made efforts to refine its interest maps of funders' changing capacities and priorities. In particular, YTE noted the CCC's shift in their strategies and capacities to support community groups

¹³⁹ YTE applied for these funds to support a central venue hub after the time of my fieldwork.

following the earthquakes. As was shown in Chapter Six, youth trusts needed to pass through various OPPs to access youth sector funding. Changes in key funding actors influenced where funds were available and how YTE assembled actors so to pass through changed OPPs (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987).

At the same time, the funders in YTE's resourcing network had to take on a new flexibility—becoming enrolled in new roles within the network, and adapting the OPPs they required the youth trust to pass through to obtain access to funds. To enlist new funds, YTE needed to translate actors they had already established connections with into new roles within their funding arrangements. As the following example illustrates, YTE had to reconfigure their relationship with the MYD and CCC. YTE had previously enrolled the MYD as a minor funder in their resourcing arrangements, while relying on the CCC for the majority of its funding. Following the earthquakes the MYD was enlisted as a major funder, taking the place of the CCC due to funding limitations at the local level. These changes in funding practices enable an examination of the flexibility of both funders and YTE in the translation process (Callon, 1986a).

Re-working relationships: Enrolling funders in new roles after the September earthquake.

Subsequent to the September 2010 earthquake, a council funding representative for youth and community organisations advised YTE that given the bill the council was facing for fixing city infrastructure, there was a possibility one of the community funds would not be offered the next year. In order to continue the enactment of their youth trust's activities, YTE needed to enrol other actors. This shift in their funding assemblage was continued after the February 2011 quake, as knowledge of the CCC's restricted finances was confirmed. According to the YTE Chairperson, October 2011:

I think the council is probably got a few priorities with just rebuilding the infrastructure of the town at the moment, and I think a youth venue is on the 'nice to have list'. It's not on the 'we need this urgently to be able to get sewage out to the sewage plant', you know. So from that point of view we are not really hassling the council.

The CCC took on a new role within the network as a mediator to other providers of funds. For instance, in October 2010, the CCC youth community fund representative encouraged YTE to enrol government funds in place of council funds. Mark recalls how the youth community fund representative suggested that YTE, “take the government’s money so the council doesn’t have to pay it”. The CCC youth and community fund representative facilitated this funding opportunity by bringing YTE and MYD funders together. For Mark, the CCC representative helped YTE enrol central government funds that were not previously a part of the YTE assemblage:

[Dave] from the council, who is the most amazing rep for us, a bit of an angel for us, rings me up, and is like ‘oh, yeah well you should apply for this fund—super easy, I’ll pick you up and we will go do it’. So a couple of Fridays ago he picks me up and we rock down there. The Ministry of Youth Development are there talking about the distribution of the fund, and they just pulled me and [Dave] aside, and say, ‘Well we are wanting to run this youth gig with us, and it would be a really big help’. They fill out the application for me—15,000 dollars, four days later we get a phone call saying its been granted, and we are just waiting for the letter now to sign and put the dollars in our account.

The CCC representative aided YTE in overcoming their initial reluctance to apply for the emergency response funding. This reluctance was due in part to a previously failed attempt at getting Ministry funding that had required an investment of time and resources. The help from the youth community fund representative, alongside changes in the Ministry’s application process, reduced the uncertainty of the enrolment outcome and the funding OPPs.

Funders’ acting flexibly: The reconfiguring of funding bodies’ obligatory passage points.

The Ministry of Youth Development (MYD) were noted to have made changes to their funding application process, allowing funds to be approved instantly, shortening the length of time to wait for funds and eliminating uncertainty around successful fund obtainment. While their documents still had to be completed, MYD representatives made efforts to meet up with youth trusts, such as YTE, and assessed the need for additional

funds on the spot. Mark recalls how YTE received additional funds from the MYD after they visited them after the February quake:

Head of MYD, came down and sat there. . . . She was like ‘so what’s happening for you?’ and I was like, ‘this is it, you know, and I’m super passionate about getting something going for young people’, and then I think once she realised where the sense of urgency was coming from, then she was like ‘oh well we need to be behind this’.

This shift in conventional OPPs for obtaining funds highlights the flexibility of Ministry funders in response to changed youth realities following the quake.

This flexibility was also evident in changes the MYD made to its accountability requirements. After the February quake the MSD did not require youth trusts to complete the usual detailed reports or produce the same outputs and outcomes normally expected.¹⁴⁰ These shifts in funding OPPs was encountered by YTE in the administration of the Ministry of Youth Development Partnership Fund they had previously enrolled as part of their programme of action for a youth venue.¹⁴¹

Chairperson, YTE, Oct 2011:

So prior to the quake it was all ‘this is what we do—and it’s a three year fund’, but since then, they have identified, that ‘look we understand that Christchurch has had issues, we have had a quake, so therefore, spend the first year’—they actually gave us the initiative to be—‘We want a five year strategy from [YTE]. We want you to continue what you are doing. We want you running events. We want you to be promoting your brand, just making sure you are out there, continue doing the good work that you are doing’, kind of thing. The big thing they kept saying was, ‘We want to be involved in the process— keep us in the loop, keep us linked in’. So that was *really* cool.

The flexibility of this funder to adapt to changes within the youth trust network by assembling a different set of funding obligatory passage points was key to allowing YTE to sustain itself while re-assembling post-quake.

¹⁴⁰ Instead the MYD required a youth trust to sign a declaration once a month to say they were unable to fulfill their full youth service obligations due to the earthquake.

¹⁴¹ The Ministry of Youth Development is administered by the Ministry of Social Development.

Mobilising actors to resource Youth Trust E's mobile strategy.

Obtaining money for reassembling their youth services post-February 2011 was often a case of enrolling actors within YTE's web of relations into new funding roles.

Relationships that had been established prior to the earthquakes were mobilised to access needed funds. Here previous enrolment work to establish relationships prior to the earthquakes saw less work required when resources were needed post-quake. Mark noted, "Some pretty wicked support coming from having really strong relationships; the fruits of our labour tasted good". For example, money was readily secured not only through the MYD, but also through their relationship with the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC). YTE had previously provided services for ALAC, and found itself approached by ALAC after the February quake to provide mobile services to young people.¹⁴² The funds secured from ALAC, together with those from the MYD, enabled YTE to purchase a couple of vans to embark on their mobile service delivery.

Relationships with new funding actors were also established. In addition to the MYD, YTE also enrolled The Ministry of Education as a core funder. YTE chose to enrol these Ministries based on an interest map that reflected an alignment between YTE's plans to go mobile in the suburbs and the Ministry's desire for increasing youth support there. YTE was also mobilised to enrol these actors into their resourcing assemblage. This was also due to the limitations it faced in recreating their old assemblage. Mark explained, April 2011:

There is no more space for if we want to go out on our own. There is no more space for us to do activities. So we have gotta in some way—we have got to like hire a space off a Ministry or work with their response.

A shortage of venues within the city restricted YTE from providing a service with their own venue independent of government programmes of action.

¹⁴² Their work with the Ministry of Health, through the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC), had seen them establish a reputation as an organisation able to support youth alcohol safety at youth music and party events. They were approached after the February quake by ALAC to provide a mobile service at youth parties in the suburbs.

Quake recovery efforts not only introduced new funding in the form of government help, but also mobilised actors in the business sector to get involved in youth service provision. Local businesses supported YTE in its reconfiguring post-quake with donations of cash or goods needed to go mobile. YTE managers attributed the donations of money they received to their previous relationship work with businesses, as well as the circulation of their brand in the community. Some businesses were also approached by YTE for funds to donate specific resources they needed to go mobile or replace damaged actors. In this way, YTE enrolled new printers for their office, and received sign writing services from a company to brand their new vans.

New resources were also acquired through an insurance payout. Following the February earthquake, flooding had damaged much of their equipment. The insurance money and some bargaining with suppliers to secure “good deals” resulted in the ability for YTE to purchase new music production gear and update their old DJ equipment. The latter became another form of community sponsorship.

Re-configuring obligatory passage points.

Uncertainty remained as to how long this additional funding for youth providers would be available. YTE’s chairperson Scott assessed a need to move swiftly to obtain funds to realise their plans for YTE, explaining that: “There are pools of money around the place, and they are dedicated to the earthquake. And you can pull on the heart-strings a little bit more right now”.

The change in the city’s web of relations saw the assemblage of new OPP’s in their funding and publicity assemblages for potential funders, sponsors and community donations. YTE problematised youth need as being tied to young people’s needs for recreation activities and hang out spaces resulting from reconfigurations of school, transport and urban spaces. As a provider of community youth recreation activities, YTE positioned resourcing their work as an OPP to supporting the city’s young people. New associations of actors were thus brought together to interest funders and sponsors interested in supporting Christchurch youth.

Working within unstable resourcing relations.

These examples illustrate the fluid and adaptive nature of YTE's resourcing practices. YTE was able to enlist new funds and/or other socio-technical actors by translating new actors into its assemblage, or translating other actors into new roles within their resourcing network. The damage to their venue, together with the changes in youth needs following the earthquake, mobilised both itself, as well as the funders to negotiate new ways of working together. For instance, within a city reconfigured through the sticker system, where only a few buildings suitable for recreation activities were given the green sticker, YTE was mobilised to work with funders such as the MOE, which they had not enlisted in their resourcing arrangements before. Re-assembling their resourcing network in these ways enabled their network to evolve and continue, despite the damage to their original youth venue. Following these new substitutions and sets of associations, where actors worked in flexible ways through successful translation efforts, highlights the ongoing nature of relationship work required to both continue and transform a network (Callon, 1986a; Haxell, 2012).

Re-configuring collaborations.

Prior to the earthquakes, YTE had worked with other organisations collaboratively. As mentioned in Chapter Six, they did this both to enrol funders and to share resources. An actor's choice to enrol a particular actor is often based on the knowledge that it has ties to other needed actors (Latour, 1987). For example, funding alone would not ensure that YTE could operate in a post-quake environment. In order to re-assemble a youth venue in their network, YTE had to enrol substitute buildings. This need for space mobilised YTE to engage in negotiations with actors in alliance with the buildings YTE needed to enlist into their network. Sustaining YTE was thus dependent upon the collaborations they were able to build with actors in alliance with these buildings. YTE invested in translation efforts to re-negotiate the role of some of their community partners. They mobilised relationships that they established with community partners prior to the earthquakes. Consequently, many of these actors went from being of peripheral importance to the continuation of YTE's network to taking on a central role in sustaining YTE. In addition, the shortage of venues in the city after the February 2011 earthquake

meant that, without its own venue, YTE was forced to extend the breadth of its collaboration efforts by forming new connections with potential community partners they had previously not considered working with.

Mobilising a community partner.

YTE's strategy of partnering with community organisations was relied upon after the September 2010 earthquake to enrol replacement venues into YTE's network. The many non-human actors the school venue contained were of value to assembling YTE's youth activities and thus mobilised YTE to collaborate with the school after the September earthquake. The school had some music production equipment, a sound system, kitchen space, and multiple rooms, including a central large space, in addition to smaller sound-proof rooms. There was also the potential to enrol further resources through the school's alliance with the Ministry of Education.

The school had previously collaborated with YTE by providing a venue for events. Translating the school into this new role required both actors re-negotiating their relationship, and establishing new roles and boundaries, so that YTE could use their building as a permanent youth venue. After a few months of YTE working within the school building, whereby YTE and the school trialled the sharing of space, it was decided YTE could be enrolled in a durable relationship with the school by taking on a new role for them as managers of their campus as a community resource. This would involve the school enlisting YTE as actors who would link a range of groups in the community with the school venue, and also supervise this use. This arrangement would allow the school to attempt to secure additional funding from the Ministry of Education to further strengthen the development of this partnership with YTE.

Latour (1991) explains how new ties formed between actors generate new network effects. This is evident in how the new relationship between YTE and the school generated new service possibilities through these actors coming together to provide a youth space. YTE's manager spoke of how a rent-free arrangement could evolve, seeing them able to divert their lease money into other projects. The school could also obtain additional resources to develop the community space, meaning their hip-hop music

producers would no longer have to bring in their own music production gear. This highlights the flexibility of YTE and its community partner, as they co-evolved through processes of negotiation, and worked to enrol further actors through their new alliance into their joint network. The non-human actors required for hip-hop activities that were present within the school's venue network, as well as the potential to enlist further technological actors, thus facilitated a new durable connection between YTE and the school.

Forming new collaborations.

Following the February 2011 earthquake, the need for multiple youth venues mobilised many more collaborations between actors. As mentioned, the addition of coloured stickers that marked some buildings as useable and others not, had reconfigured the numbers of venues available for use in the city. The stickers thus mobilised YTE to form community partnerships with groups aligned with green stickered buildings. As one youth trust spokesperson stated: "after the earthquake everybody is realising, well we are going to have to work together, there is not many venues left". For YTE, no single venue was available for use across the week. Chairperson, Scott:

S: Like really the hardest thing for us is in finding facilities, and finding places to go.

E: Facilities meaning?

S: Just like a hall or a couple of rooms where we could go to. There was just nowhere around, because all damaged and that sort of thing.

Given the shortage of venues, enrolling multiple venues and sharing spaces had become their only option. Venue options were further restricted by the need for venue actors' spaces that were compatible with at least some of YTE's youth activities. In addition to youth meeting spaces, they needed spaces that would allow the set up of their DJ and sound system gear, and that had adequate floor space for their dancers.

This shift in venue availability also meant who they needed to collaborate with changed. YTE had to consider collaborating with many church-based youth trusts that they had either not worked closely with before, or with whom they had only worked with via

tenuous connections formed in their joint work on youth community events. Post-quake, many of these youth church trusts had intact venues in the suburbs. The manager of YTE, in April 2011, described how he had gone from “not worrying about what the church is doing” in terms of providing services to youth,¹⁴³ to having to work with them.

There is this massive power balance shift. Some of it comes down to space. Like they have got some primo sized halls that are still primo to use. So they have a monopoly in the suburbs.

ANT highlights that power is the effect of a network, and that a shift in even one actor can change an actor’s ability to control the actions of others (Latour, 1986a, 1987; Law & Singleton, 2013). In the reconfigured venue and city web of relations, the suburban churches with their venue resources intact were in a position to enrol funders and young people into their programmes of action.

YTE needed to enrol these venues to continue youth service delivery. This need for space saw YTE seek out new relationships with those who were attached to these resources. Mark described how a lot of the work they engaged in post-quake regarded “making relationships”, and explained how they found themselves approaching churches that had youth venue facilities:

You know, it’s almost like ‘hands out’ in a way— like we’ve got no other option. Like, where else can we go? Like these are the last few youth spaces left.

As a result of this relationship work, YTE were able to enact their mobile service delivery through collaboration with a few youth church trusts located around the city suburbs willing to let them use their venues.¹⁴⁴ The arrangements arrived at took various forms: in some cases, a venue hire/lease relationship was formed with a church trust while in other church trust partnerships the space was donated for free. This was a result of a church or trust realising the need for groups around the city to share venue spaces. In addition, YTE sought to enlist space by approaching to share a space with a group or organisation that had already attained a venue in their assemblage by offering to provide a joint set of activities with the church youth trust connected with the space,

¹⁴³ As was discussed in Chapter Four, YTE also valued its secular identity a means to enrol young people.

¹⁴⁴ In addition to these youth trusts they formed a collaborative partnership with a different alternative school.

or other trust who had obtained money to lease a space. These collaborations saw new sets of activities evolve as resources and different sets of young people attached to each youth trust were brought together. As will be described below, the different ways of enrolling spaces impacted on the hip-hop activities produced.

Negotiating partnerships.

As discussed in Chapter Six, prior to the earthquakes collaborating to provide a joint event or set of activities for young people involved the trading and exchange of resources. This trading of resources between community organisations was critical for overcoming anti-programmes of distrust. Securing spaces and venue hire post-quake highlights that collaboration and the trading and sharing of non-human and human actors is an important survival strategy for organisations continuing their diverse activities in situations where resources are in limited supply. For YTE, this meant mobilising resources such as PA equipment, as well as human actors, such as hip-hop mentors, DJ's, and youth trust managers.

New collaboration opportunities for YTE also arose with some of the community organisations who had come to Christchurch to help meet post-quake needs. Mobilised by a need for resources, these organisations also instigated collaborations. A relationship was readily established through resource needs and goals that allowed each trust to translate the other into their network—resulting in an alignment of interests. For example, YTE collaborated with Youth Trust G (YTG), a youth recreation organisation who specialised in offering after-school and holiday workshops and events for intermediate and high-school age young people. YTG had secured funds to provide b-boy workshops for children and young people in the east of the city.¹⁴⁵ Similar to YTE, YTG was also without its own venue or networks in the city, and so it was mobilised to collaborate with others. YTG wanted to run b-boying workshops and dance parties, and YTE was a willing collaborator. As one YTG spokesperson explained to me:

Like, if we wanna do a workshop, like YTE will supply us with a DJ for that workshop, if we wanna do dance parties, they'll come down and help us, and then

¹⁴⁵ The East of the city contained the areas most affected by the February quake.

in return we will help them out in some other way. So it's just kind of bouncing off each other.

The addition of YTG to YTE's network generated new possibilities for b-boy activities. These organisations were mobilised to work together in order to access young people, and a range of other resources to run b-boy activities for youth. YTE collaborated with YTG by mediating access to a b-boy instructor, and a church space they had secured to use for two nights per week. YTE also worked in partnership by providing youth work staff for supervising and running workshops and events, and by contributing their sound system for YTG to run a b-boy workshop series. In exchange, YTG provided the funds to help cover costs to secure needed resources, such as the funds to lease a school hall to run b-boy events, and provided their own staff to help organise and run the activities. Thus, in this case, YTE benefited through collaborating with YTG, as they could continue to be involved in the running of b-boy/b-girl activities without having to secure funding for these workshops and events themselves.

ANT researchers are interested in tracing the networks in which actors can and can not work together (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1991; Winance, 2006). The earthquake event instigated a need for resources that saw organisations more willing to collaborate with each other. However, not all youth trust's and their workers were as willing to share young people and resources with YTE. YTE's move to deliver mobile youth services in suburban schools was viewed by some 24-7 YouthWork workers as a source of youth work competition for providing youth work services to the young people they worked with.¹⁴⁶ Mark recalls the resistance YTE encountered in their inquiries regarding the delivery of their services to young people within schools:

They sort of tell us, 'oh well we don't want you coming in to this school because you don't have the relationships with the kids that we have'. You know. But we are like 'but our kids go to this school' you know. But they were just like, 'well they are our kids now'.

¹⁴⁶ 24-7 YouthWork establishes relationships between churches and schools. See <http://24-7youthwork.org.nz/>. In addition to youth leadership work in their church these youth workers have set youth work hours they do within a local school.

YTE found they were unable to negotiate a new working relationship with these workers. The 24-7 YouthWork workers already had access to venues in both their school and church. This failure to negotiate a new relationship highlights the role of the venue actor in mobilising actors to work together. In response to this anti-programme, YTE invested in efforts to negotiate with other youth trusts outside of the school context.

Re-Assembling Hip-Hop-Youth Work Activities

Latour (1987) describes how any assemblage is only as strong as its weakest link. Humans and non-humans are tied to each other. Therefore a change in a link in the associations needs to be responded to by finding a suitable replacement so to hold the other actors in place and prevent the network's dissolution. As described above, YTE enrolled replacement venue actors to substitute its loss of its central city HQ. The following analysis traces how these new actors were mobilised to re-assemble hip-hop activities. To do so requires opening the black box of a youth venue to examine the mediators within it that created a tie between young people and YTE. By following shifts in the youth venue assemblage, I trace the ties that young people held with various non-humans to enact a given hip-hop activity and how these attachments varied across hip-hop assemblages. First, I examine the impact the stable school venue arrangement assembled after the September quake had on youth enrolment in hip-hop activities. I then follow how YTE's enlistment of multiple venue actors that substituted this actor after the February quake worked to maintain and establish connections with young people wishing to enact hip-hop activities.

Reconfiguring hip-hop activities within a new central city venue.

The inner city school venue that replaced YTE's central city HQ after the September 2010 earthquake provided new assemblages of actors for hip-hop activity. These substitute actors provided new possibilities for hip-hop activity.

Tracing b-boy/b-girl enrolment.

Prior to the earthquakes, YTE had supported b-boy/b-girls in running weekly b-boy jam sessions at their HQ. Mark also mentored one of the b-boys in business development so he could pursue b-boy performance and teaching opportunities. The spaces and the resources the school venue contained were compatible with these b-boy activities. One large room had a wooden sprung floor. As discussed in Chapter Four, this actor was of value within b-boy assemblages. The space was without pillars allowing many young people to practice b-boying at any one time. The space for dance was also enlarged through the presence of additional sound proof music rooms in the venue space where other youth activities could take place- taking away the competition for space between different youth activities. Just as Bloustein and Peters (2011) point out, the structural features of a youth venue can impact on its ability to provide a space that engages people, these substitutions in YTE's venue assemblage resulted in the continued enrolment of b-boys and b-girls.

Furthermore, the substitute venue actor saw additional young people become enrolled in the b-boy-youth work assemblage. The location of the inner-city school venue YTE inhabited after the September 2010 earthquake provided opportunities for young people to be exposed to YTE's hip-hop activities. The venue was in close proximity to young people's hang outs and thoroughfares as it was not only part of the school, but it was also near to two other critical actors: the bus exchange and City Mall. As discussed in Chapter Four, new young people were often enrolled into the hip-hop-youth work network through a youth trust assembling socio-material arrangements whereby young people could be exposed to or hear about the youth trust's hip-hop activities. These same assemblages came into play after the September earthquake, although in their new location, YTE was not as reliant upon cell-phone and social media technologies. Mark explained how YTE's new inner city location, as part of the inner city mall and the school itself, meant young people were more readily exposed to the b-boy practices. They would then spread the word to other young people:

Well, you know, b-boy A would tell b-boy B, and then b-boy A and B would go jam down there, and then some kids would go 'what's on down there' and they'd go down and have a look and everyone would be jamming, and they'd be like, 'oh, I

want a piece of this'. And then they tell their friend the next day, and then them and their friend would come down together, you know. So it was like really, super organic growth.

The new interest saw the b-boy Mark was mentoring able to run classes for young people. At the same time as more experienced b-boys and b-girls jammed on the other side of the room. He was able to hold b-boy classes for younger youth, while the older boys jammed on the other side of the floor. Latour (1991) suggests the researcher looks at how new network effects emerge through substitutions and new associations of actors in a network. He also recommends that the development of innovations be mapped by tracing how new associations are paid for by substitutions and associations of actors. Through its substitution of venue actor, YTE's b-boy-youth work network is no longer the same. Here, the large space and exposure the location provided saw an extension of youth enrolled in the b-boy- youth trust assemblage. The b-boy-youth work assemblage thus evolved through the addition of the inner-city school's actors. Before the February 2011 earthquake, Mark remarked that the new space was turning into "a little hub for hip-hop".

Tracing the enrolment of hip-hop MCs.

The new space and resources present within the school space enabled YTE to continue their b-boy activities. However, the new space provided a disruption to YTE's hip-hop music production activities. Prior to the earthquakes, YTE ran MC cypher sessions, and were in the beginning stages of developing a hip-hop music production project. Despite having soundproof music rooms in these new arrangements, they were not immediately amenable to hip-hop music production activity. Unlike the old YTE HQ, the gear for music production and MC cypher session activities could not be permanently set up and securely kept in the new venue. As Mark explains:

[The Hip-hop Music Creation Project and MC cypher sessions] have been the biggest losers. Everything else is just really a room.¹⁴⁷ Whereas this is gear and set up. Cos we are sharing with the school, so when I go down there at three all

¹⁴⁷ Here he is referring to the other activities YTE runs, such as b-boying.

the kids are still there leaving for the day, so you can't really leave anything in there.

Latour (1996) argues that non-humans, like their human counterparts, have their own set of conditions that must be met in order for them to become interested in joining a network. Non-humans can thus allow or forbid certain alliances. In the above example, the music production equipment had requirements that could not be met by the new configuration of actors in the replacement venue. As will be discussed later in this chapter, these technological actors needed to be arranged with other non-human actors for ease of use.¹⁴⁸ They also required socio-material arrangements that ensured their security, as their high monetary value made these actors vulnerable to theft. The lack of presence of actors to ensure security, such as a supervisor and locks on doors during school time, thus created an anti-programme of "lack of security" for the youth workers and youth volunteers who led the project. Limitations to the fluidity of this hip-hop network are thus revealed.

Though hip-hop music production activities could not be immediately reassembled, as described above, YTE's choice to enrol the school as a substitution actor was partly based on the school's capacity to be adapted to hip-hop music production activities. These young people's needs formed part of YTE's ongoing negotiations with the school. The school contained actors required for music production work, such as sound-proof rooms, and music production equipment. The school could also render potential alliances that could see the hip-hop music production network supported within the school web of relations.

Alignments between the school and the youth trust's hip-hop music production programme of action existed with the presence of sound proof rooms and teachers who themselves taught music production as part of the school curriculum, together with plans to get Ministry of Education (MOE) funding to purchase new school equipment for music production activities. Thus, while the continued enactment of the music-production/MC cypher session-youth work network was disrupted through YTE's move to the school, there were plans for it to be re-continued and developed. During this time

¹⁴⁸ As discussed in Chapter Five, the creation of a music studio environment was a critical component of The Hip-hop Music Creation Project.

of interrupted resource provision, YTE was able to maintain partial links with these young people through the mobilisation of the school's large venue space for an MC battle event.

The two examples of hip-hop activities provided here illustrate that each venue is a different assemblage of actors and is part of different webs of relations. Different compatibilities and tensions thus result when these actors come together with other actors that are in alliance with youth workers and young people. Given that the different versions of hip-hop assembled within YTE's webs of relations consisted of different sets of socio-material practices, it follows that each hip-hop assemblage adapted to changes in the socio-material webs of relations of YTE differently. New possibilities and constraints for hip-hop-youth work activities therefore also emerged from the shift in venue arrangements that occurred as a result of YTE re-assembling its service delivery following the February 2011 earthquake events.

Reconfiguring hip-hop activities within mobile arrangements.

The importance of YTE's venue hub actor in maintaining connections with young people in hip-hop activities became evident when YTE enacted its mobile service delivery. After the loss of its central city venue following the February quake, YTE encountered challenges in maintaining the strength of its ties with young people in hip-hop networks. Limitations relating to the fluidity of hip-hop-youth work assemblages were encountered. Some of these were unexpected for the youth trust. The young people had previously taught them about hip-hop's "something from nothing" roots, indicating that hip-hop could be configured in less than ideal circumstances. YTE's youth workers therefore predicted that their hip-hop activities could be configured in their mobile configuration.

By highlighting some unpredicted limitations of their mobile service delivery, the following discussion unpacks the complexity of enrolling young people in hip-hop-youth work assemblages. This requires further opening the black box of youth space assembled within YTE's network. I describe some of the anti-programmes the substitution of these new spaces produced for youth engagement within YTE's hip-hop-

youth work programmes of action. I also consider how these were or were not successfully countered by YTE- revealing the limits of these young people's flexibility. I consider how young people's flexibility, or lack thereof, was a product of the young people's relationships with other socio-material actors, the other webs of relations in which they were embedded, as well as the ongoing translation work undertaken by other actors within the YTE network.

Despite encountering resistance on the part of young people previously enrolled in their hip-hop-youth work programme of action, YTE still enacted hip-hop activities within its new webs of relations. In addition to examining the flexibility of the young people previously enrolled in the YTE network, I examine how YTE hip-hop activity was sustained through the partial enrolment of new young people. I show how YTE enlisted other young people into hip-hop activity through their collaborative work with other youth organisations. The continuation of YTE's hip-hop activity within new sets of relations is thus explored.

Working with partially enrolled venues.

Within their new configuration of mobile service delivery, YTE replaced its inner city HQ with a variety of venues each available for only a few hours within the week. Going mobile included both short term and long-term arrangements with community partners for use of a particular venue. Many venues, particularly early in their mobile service delivery, were only able to be enlisted on a short- term basis. While network stability is no longer the sole focus of ANT theorists (Law, 2009), the ANT focus on how network stability is achieved through the addition of non-human actors provides a useful lens to examine the flexibility of young people. The following discussion traces young people's resistance to working with YTE when the venue actor within its network consisted of sets of unstable relations.

The end of the hip-hop music production network.

The hip-hop music production network that had been disrupted following the September quake failed to re-assemble following the loss of YTE's central city venue. In

Chapter Five, I discussed how youth enrolment in YTE's music production activities was partially dependent upon human and non-human actors coming together to configure a creative hip-hop space. These ties between the human and non-human actors were destabilised following the February earthquake. The substitution venue actors could not offer the durable material connections the non-human actors in the music production assemblage required. Young people's attachments to these actors prohibited them from continuing an alliance with YTE.

The shifting and unstable nature of the venue sites within YTE's mobile assemblage prevented the set up of a music production base, thereby limiting the mentors and young people from continuing their activities with YTE. The youth workers in de Roeper & Savelsberg's 2009 study of youth arts activities also similarly reported that some activities are hard to set up in shared spaces available only on a short term basis, where material actors have to be continually re-assembled. In addition to this, in the current study, the human ties required for the future re-establishment of the music production activities were weakened with the youth worker-hip-hop artist running the programme having relocated with his family to the North Island to avoid the quakes. As has also been noted by Bloustein and Peters (2011), human actors that can function as hip-hop mentors and youth workers can be equally important in providing a space amenable to youth arts activities. The absence of the non-human actors that held these human actors in place therefore played a role in the dissolution of YTE's hip-hop music production activities. In this case, the venue that connected the youth worker/youth volunteer to YTE, through its ability to allow the set up of a music production studio space, played a critical role in interweaving the human actors within YTE's hip-hop-music assemblage. This highlights the role of a stable venue actor within the workings of this hip-hop initiative.

Encountering resistance: maintaining ties with b-boys and b-girls.

Following the February quake b-boys and b-girls no longer had many venue options in the city to practice and jam.¹⁴⁹ The connections that YTE could make between these

¹⁴⁹ The inner city youth trust venues and public jam spaces these young people had relied upon were no longer accessible as they were within the inner-city cordon. Even outside of the cordon, flat public spaces

young people and practice spaces and venues around the city was therefore important for the continued enactment of b-boy activity and community. It is therefore interesting that many of these young people did not take advantage of the venues YTE provided as part of its mobile arrangements.

After a few months, Mark discovered that a stable venue was required in order to successfully re-assemble b-boy activities within their mobile arrangements. He found the b-boy and b-girls had to build a connection with the space. As Mark explains:

It's the consistency, so you've got to put a space in place and then it was going to take 5 or 6 weeks for them to start to feel comfortable in it, and then sort of flourish after that, but we have been sort of like providing a space for like a couple of weeks here and there . . . then it's like 'oh well, we might come down and have a look around the first time' and then build on that, yeah.

Many of the replacement venues YTE was able to enlist were only partially enrolled in their network. This produced an anti-programme of "inconsistency" that prevented YTE from re-assembling b-boy activities with the young people they had supported prior to the February quakes.

This realisation and consequent refinement of YTE's interest map of b-boy/b-girl venue needs developed through YTE's trials of various forms of venue provision. In contrast to the provision of unstable venues, Mark observed that b-boys became enlisted when they could provide a venue on a regular and ongoing basis. This highlights how the form of resistance or anti-programme on the part of actors cannot always be predicted. Establishing b-boy/b-girls alliances with a substitute venue space could not simply be predicted based on YTE's knowledge of the ease with which non-human actors could be assembled to enact b-boy activity. As discussed in Chapter Four, b-boys prided themselves on having minimal resource needs and their ability to practice and jam outdoors in public spaces with or without music. It was an often-heard quote from b-boys that they can "create something out of nothing". However, having encountered the anti-programme of inconsistent space, and the arrangements that overcame this, YTE

and venues for b-boy/b-girl activity were hard for young people to find. Furthermore, damage to many residential houses saw the number of available garages of friends and families in short supply.

refined their b-boy interest map to include the anti-anti-programme of “venue consistency”. Mark concluded: “The hip-hop kids all they really needed was a space and a speaker that’s consistent, and they will build their own culture around it”. The need for a degree of consistency within YTE’s venue assemblage so to enrol a group of young people in the newly configured YTE reveals limitations to the b-boy/b-girl actors’ flexibility.

The loss of a central HQ space revealed its role in strengthening ties between b-boys and b-girls and YTE as a network. Mark remarked that it revealed the nature of their relationship to be “based around space”. He went on to reflect on the impact their mobile service delivery had on YTE’s relationship with the b-boys and b-girls and the work they did together: “The lack of space for them has really strained that relationship you know, like um, if they’re not around then it’s hard to be working with them, sort of thing”. Taking a stable HQ venue out of YTE’s assemblage meant young people could no longer simply drop in and chat with YTE workers. This limited YTE’s ability to brainstorm youth led initiatives with the young people.

Communication and social media technologies within the assemblage proved poor substitutes for the central meeting point YTE’s HQ had provided. Mark advertised the new venues YTE had available for use by the b-boys on Facebook, and stayed in contact with young people via cell phone. While Mark described successfully using Facebook post-quake to organise events and activities with other groups of young people they worked with,¹⁵⁰ he remarked that this was not the case with the b-boy crew they were in relationship with:

E: Was it a challenge alerting b-boys to your other spaces after the quake?

M: Yeah, it never really took off, I mean I’d go on B-boy Crew B and B-boy Crew A’s wall and say ‘hey, we’ve got this space for you, for this time, get down here’.

Facebook proved to not be an effective enrolment strategy with these b-boy crews.

¹⁵⁰ The youth trusts in this study developed a new reliance on these technologies to maintain contact with young people post-quake.

Encountering incompatible networks.

It was not simply the instability of a substitute actor that limited YTE's ability to maintain bonds with the b-boys and b-girls. A new venue's ability to enter into an alliance with the b-boy/b-girls that YTE worked with was found to be dependent on the time it was available for use. Funding received by the Ministry of Education to lease a venue and offer youth recreation services saw YTE initially contracted to offer a venue to b-boys/b-girls in new "after school" slots. This shifted service delivery times to between 1 and 3 pm. This change in venue hours did not cohere with the networks of the older youth YTE worked with, where individuals were not in high school. Many of these youth were unable to utilise these resources, as they had to juggle practice sessions around work commitments, as Mark explains:

The MOE only wanted services delivered from 1pm to 3pm each day. Well we were like 'oh well we think it works better after, from 4-8, but they were like 'nah, we don't care about that, we just want to pay from like 1-3. So we ran a lot of stuff in the 1-3 space, in Papanui, one b-boy would come out and jam with us. But just one guy – everyone else is working, so it just happened to be his day off and in the middle of the day and it was perfect, and the fact he was just about to go to Taiwan to battle for BCONE so he was getting in some extra training time, and yeah, it was really really good to see him.

Thus, YTE's involvement in new funding web of relations meant they were initially unable to provide a venue for the older youth they worked with. Despite a venue's material alignments being compatible with young people's b-boy activity requirements, its position within wider webs of relations restricted its accessibility. This "lack of accessibility" anti-programme limited this venue's ability to build an alliance with these young people and function as a substitute venue actor in YTE's network for b-boy activity. As seen in the example of hip-hop-music production activities, the poor turn out of young people in this arrangement also highlights the importance of older hip-hop mentors to create and retain connections with youth wishing to develop their hip-hop skills. The b-boy crew members were a key component of the b-boy practice sessions as other young people came to practice sessions to learn from them. Here the new webs of

relations for enacting a youth space impacted on YTE's ability to continue to enact its b-boy activities.

YTE's experience with this anti-programme confirmed the previous interest map they had formed that predicted that the older youth that they worked with required recreation spaces to be provided in the late afternoon and evening. With little means to counter this anti-programme, YTE sought alternative resourcing relationships in order to provide b-boys and b-girls with accessible practice spaces. Through collaborating with youth trust's connected to church spaces, YTE was able to access several venues across the city for different evenings across the week. However, as discussed above, they found that providing evening venues did not on their own counter young people's anti-programmes to enlisting the substitute venues into their b-boy assemblage.

Countering b-boy/b-girl resistance.

For YTE to overcome b-boy/b-girl resistance to enlisting in their mobile service arrangements, the anti-programme of inconsistency produced by venues only partially enrolled within YTE's network also had to be addressed. This could be done through the provision of venues that were enrolled on a long-term basis. These could be timetabled in as a stable actor within their mobile arrangements. However, re-connecting with the b-boy crew, and establishing their connection with such a space was a challenge. Having lost contact with the b-boys, YTE had to find ways to re-build their connection.

Providing jam and practice spaces.

The anti-anti-programme "paid employment" resulted in the enrolment of one of the original b-boys into YTE's programme of action of mobile hip-hop activity. As discussed above, YTE's collaboration with YTG resulted in a series of b-boy workshops being run for young people. In this way, YTE were able to continue their support for B-boy A by helping him attain paid work teaching b-boying in holiday and recreation programs run by YTG. The value of the stable enrolment of this b-boy became evident as after a few weeks other members of his crew arrived to hang out at the venue. They began to use the venue in these b-boy workshop sessions as a place to jam and practice their b-

boying. This illustrates the flexibility of b-boys and b-girls to configure their practice and jam spaces in different ways. Here they shared a venue with the young people B-boy A was teaching, and even helped B-boy A mentor the children. The new associations of actors enlisted in YTE's network as a result of YTE's collaboration with YTG did not weaken YTE's relationship with the b-boy/b-girls.

B-boy events.

Despite no longer having the central venue for b-boys to regularly hang out or pop in to make plans for events, towards the end of my fieldwork YTE was enrolled by the local b-boy crews to help them put on a b-boy event. This is an example of how young people's connections with YTE could be maintained through YTE's ties to venue actors. The venue actors YTE had enlisted within its network mobilised B-boy Crew A and B-boy Crew B to enrol YTE in their hip-hop event assemblages. Access to the much-needed venue was mediated through YTE's alliance with YTG. As part of its workshop series it had been running with B-boy A, YTG had obtained funds to lease a hall to be used for a b-boy event. When B-boy Crew B heard about this they sought out YTE to negotiate a collaborative arrangement to run their own b-boy event. This resulted in both b-boy crews, in collaboration with YTE and YTG, running a b-boy event each in the same weekend as part of a broader joint b-boy event. Here b-boy crew leaders reported choosing to connect with YTE so to gain access to needed resources. This shows how YTE's collaboration with YTG played an important role in enabling them to maintain connections with the wider b-boy community. These new associations of actors allowed the YTE network to continue to support b-boy events.

Enrolling new young people into b-boy activities.

So far, I have considered how YTE attempted to maintain the enrolment of some of the original b-boys/b-girls who they had supported prior to the quakes. However, within their mobile service delivery post-quake, they also sought to maintain the enactment of YTE through service delivery to other young people. Within the transitional arrangements of the mobile service delivery, there was also an acceptance that the enrolment of young people within hip-hop activities may take an unstable and

temporary form. For example, the mobile unit spent a day out at a youth justice residence. Here hip-hop found a place in their work as a means to quickly engage young people in a group activity. Mark explains:

Yeah, just like, well I can't really dance, but yes, Ben was doing his demo on his—like we took the decks out, and we were like right, 'what would you like us to DJ?'—got a beat going, started nodding to it, and away we go. Like just kicked off this big cypher— and some huge stuff, then teaching them six step, and you know, them just getting it—and big high fives and pats on the back like 'well done', and 'don't be afraid to crash and stuff'. You know. So for me, it's got this hugely powerful thing, of, even when I was nodding behind the decks of Ben, like Ben was playing, and just standing next to him, like not dancing, but just like moving, and they were all like 'oh g! Check out that guy!'—he's being a bit of a dick or whatever, you know, but he's not scared . . . And then yeah, it pretty much got better and better. And then one guy was like pulling out a back flip, and you know . . . it was a hive of activity. So yeah, I'm always impressed with hip-hop's ability to pretty much instantly unite or ignite.

The mobile service delivery helped the youth trust gain flexibility in the types of young people it was to engage with. In addition to engaging directly with youth in the youth justice system through one off encounters as described above, by going mobile and working collaboratively, YTE worked with other youth trusts who served young people Mark described as more "at risk".¹⁵¹ Once again, it is clear YTE is not a fixed entity. Forming these connections with other youth organisations altered the kind of young people they worked with, leading Mark to reflect on how this changed their previous configuration and identity as a youth trust, as they had previously defined themselves as different to other organisations who enlisted many at risk young people into their network.

¹⁵¹ "At risk" is used here as it was a term used by YTE spokespeople to refer to young people with involvement in the youth justice system, or who at risk of becoming involved in it. As noted in Chapter Three, this youth trust noted all young people as being in potential need of services and did not like to adhere to the "risk" paradigm as conventionally perceived.

Communication technologies.

In YTE's previous venue configuration in the inner city, young people could be exposed to b-boy activities first hand. The new venue configurations disrupted the connections with their original b-boys and b-girls and YTE was not able to expose young people to b-boy crew activity. There was a hope that social media could substitute this form of exposure and enrol new young people into their hip-hop activities. However, a limitation was encountered in this strategy. Mark explained: "Facebook is only going to connect with the people you are already connected with". Without young people spreading the word through these technologies, the trust itself could not use these technologies to connect with new sets of young people. As such, YTE's new mobile service delivery was not as successful at enrolling new young people into their hip-hop assemblage as the exposure and word of mouth assemblages that saw an increase in enrolments in their previous assemblage in the inner city.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the flexibility of YTE's hip-hop-youth work assemblages. The reconfiguring of YTE's youth venue assemblage following the Christchurch 2010 and 2011 earthquakes constitutes an extreme example of the flexibility required in hip-hop-youth work arrangements in response to changes in actors within a network. The effects of the earthquakes on what appear to be strong links within a network, such as solid ground, highlight the instability of even what appear to be the most stable and durable actors. The addition of new actors in YTE's network following the quake played a role in mobilising YTE to reconfigure its venue network. This was seen in how the yellow and red stickers changed the capacity of its venue actors, and mobilised YTE to enlist substitute actors. This chapter has shown how human and non-human actors are interwoven together, with the transformation of one requiring others to be flexible and work with new sets of actors within the network. The findings presented in this chapter support those of other ANT theorists: that the continued evolution of a network is dependent on the flexibility of the network and its actors (Callon, 1986b; Haxell, 2012; Latour, 1991).

Law and Singleton (2013) note that an ANT sensibility allows relationality to be explored. Understanding actors as shaped within webs of relations is to recognise “the unfolding and uncertain character of the world. Because if the web holds steady, so do the “actors” in it. While if it shifts, and mostly it does, then so too do those actors” (p. 490). The substitution of actors within YTE’s post-quake assemblages produced new assemblages that continued the enactment of YTE’s hip-hop youth work activities in new forms. For example, YTE could define itself as working with more at risk young people as it collaborated with organisations in contact with different youth demographics. New actors enrolled into the network allowed both new possibilities and constraints, the nature of which depended on how they interacted with actors within a particular hip-hop network. For instance, the new relationship with YTG and its associated actors saw new b-boy activities and events enacted. Change within hip-hop-youth work engagement practices is therefore shown to be not linear or one directional. The organisation’s hip-hop activities changed in response to feedback that emerged when new substitutions and associations were formed between actors. Youth hip-hop engagement work is thus shown to be messy, involving a series of translations as diverse actors are brought together.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has presented slices of the socio-material practices involved in assembling hip-hop-youth work activities in the city of Christchurch, New Zealand. I have explored the workings of local hip-hop-youth work assemblages, exploring the complexities involved in appropriating hip-hop into youth work sites of practice. I have examined how hip-hop controversies were handled in different ways across what appear to be similar contexts. Through tracing the range of actors that come together to enact hip-hop-youth work activities, the configuration of hip-hop activities was shown to be contingent on, and situated within specific webs of relations.

The interconnected nature of actors in a hip-hop-youth work network meant that I followed a series of translations to reveal how actors were enrolled. Importantly, using an ANT sensibility gave equal attention to human and non-human actors and highlighted how editing could take place so that hip-hop could be successfully translated into a youth work site of practice. In this way, I have examined how the shape of a hip-hop-youth activity emerges through the coming together of heterogeneous actors.

Network stability has been shown to be a temporary affair. In fact, the continued enactment of a hip-hop-youth work network was made possible through the ongoing reconfiguration of the network. Networks were shown to evolve in response to changes in actors and their alliances. This research has highlighted the ways in which these networks stabilised through heterogeneous actors being enrolled, such as a venue that held a sounds system, large floor space, and hip-hop mentors. The interweaving of actors strengthened the networks. Such hip-hop assemblages formed durable ties with young people in the youth work-hip-hop network.

However, at times connections between the actors in a network were disrupted. The sequelae of the Christchurch earthquakes showed that even what appear to be stable assemblages could be interrupted or come to an end when a particular actor (such as a

venue or building) was no longer enrolled. In other cases, however, the actors in a hip-hop-youth work network proved flexible: they could be mobilised in new ways, attach themselves to substitute actors (such as a van), and take on new roles in the network. The flexibility and evolution of hip-hop-youth work networks in the post-earthquake context was shown to emerge through the ongoing translations of actors.

Following the enactment of a variety of hip-hop-youth work activities revealed the fluidity and multiplicity of hip-hop activities. This multiplicity, while enabling appropriation, also increased the challenge of assembling hip-hop-youth work activities. Furthermore, some hip-hop assemblages did not prove to be as fluid as others, as incompatibilities between actors were not overcome. Added to this, not all young people's hip-hop interests could be responded to by offering one form of hip-hop-youth work activity. Consequently, some hip-hop activities could not be translated into certain youth trust networks.

Within this conclusion, I will continue to reflect on the argument put forward by ANT theorists that explanations that are of value are contained within the description of the network itself. The situated and contingent nature of the successful translations of hip-hop into youth work sites of practice documented within this thesis provide a platform for such a discussion. In addition, this chapter offers the opportunity to reflect on the value of ANT sensibilities for understanding the assemblage of hip-hop-youth work activities. In lieu of providing a series of conclusions or recommendations to be applied in other sites, implications are discussed in terms of the performative nature of the text itself, and in terms of areas of future research to continue to follow the hip-hop-youth work networks encountered in this study.

Hip-Hop-Youth Work Activities as Socio-Material

The ANT research method allows the symmetrical treatment of non-human and human actors and enabled a fresh approach to exploring youth engagement within hip-hop activities. While the role of material resources has been acknowledged as important for the enactment of youth hip-hop activities and identities in the literature (Dimitriadis,

2001; Flores-Gonzalez, Rodriguez, & Rodriguez-Muniz, 2006), the role of specific non-human actors in the negotiations that result in the enrolment of young people has not been attended to. ANT provides a framework for the researcher to explore how social ties were secured through the enlistment of non-humans in a hip-hop-youth work assemblage (Latour, 1987, 1991). Therefore, this research has addressed a gap in the literature by following the work of specific non-human actors in the formation of connections between young people and a youth trust and its workers. Specific examples were given in Chapter Four, which highlighted the ways in which non-humans initiated and maintained connections between young people and a youth trust. It revealed how things such as shoes, social media technologies, and venue spaces played a role in forming and maintaining the connections between young people and a youth trust. Chapter Seven further illustrated the significance of material actors in forming such ties, when YTE's HQ venue was un-enrolled from the network. Utilising ANT as an analytical framework brought attention to the role of non-human actors in enlisting young people in hip-hop-youth work activities.

While non-humans may not have the cognitive capabilities to engage in intentional behaviour like their human counterparts, I advance the argument that the physical properties of non-humans enables these actors to engage in actions such as allowing, forbidding and negotiating (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1992, 1996, 1992). This research found non-human actors allowed and forbid different alliances, limiting or opening up possibilities for youth enrolment. For instance, the music production equipment required secure permanent facilities, limiting these young people from forming alliances with YTE's substitute venues. Other actors allowed alliances, for instance commercial hip-hop music allowed itself to be remixed when aligned with a DJ turntables and mixer. Some actors limited the numbers of young people that could be enrolled; for instance the pillars in YTE's initial venue limited the possibilities for b-boy numbers. A symmetrical treatment of human and non-human actors thus provided insight into the reasons for why some activities could take place within one youth work site and not another, and why some activities were more fluid than others.

Although humans and non-humans have different qualities (Latour, 1992), it is this difference that provides the rationale for the presence of things in a hip-hop-youth work

network. This was evident in the work of inscriptions in enrolling young people and funders. Functioning as immutable mobiles, these inscriptions enabled action at a distance, enlisting funders and young people that might otherwise not have entered the network. These inscriptions were shown to circulate knowledge that was vital for the enrolment of those actors needed for a hip-hop-youth work activity to take place. For instance, the discussion within Chapter Six showed how funding applications circulated information about a youth trust and its activities that allowed interassessment strategies to take place. In Chapter Four, the ways in which inscriptions allowed youth enrolment through the circulation of knowledge about activities, countering the anti-programme of lack of awareness or information of the youth work-hip-hop activities or resources on offer were described.

While ANT has been criticised for its emphasis on the significance of non-human actors at the expense of human actors (Collins & Yearley, 1992; Elder-Vaas, 2008; McLean & Hassard, 2004), these readings could be seen as missing the point. ANT originated as a means to avoid technological determinism, to overcome dualisms in analysis that locate causes exclusively in either the social or technological realm (Latour, 2005). In studying assemblages, that is, actors in associations of other actors, ANT analysis does not separate humans and non-humans, and instead aims to examine the work they achieve together and the effects that emerge through their interaction (Latour, 2005; Law, 1992; MacLean & Hassard, 2004). I found that in the case of hip-hop-youth work activities, non-human actors made a difference to the actions and capacities of other actors. Taking a symmetrical approach proved fruitful in revealing how youth work hip-hop assemblages are reliant upon human actors working with a range of non-human actors.

Studying assemblages shows that agency, or action, is distributed. Understanding power as an effect of a network within this research enabled an examination of exercises of power outside of conventional analyses, such as those focused on structures such as gender and class (Latour, 1986a; Law & Singleton, 2013). When an actor was found to have power to influence the enrolment of others into a particular hip-hop-youth work programme of action, this power was shown to be the result of an assemblage of actors. For instance, the hip-hop mentor was enacted in and through socio-material webs of relations. Similarly, Chapter Five revealed the DJ to be an assemblage dependent on the

mixer, DJ turntables, and PA system. These actors together were able to influence young people's conduct at a dance party, as well as the content of hip-hop music.

Following the process of editing in Chapter Five also showed that hip-hop activities were not determined in a top-down or bottom up fashion through a process of diffusion. It was shown that a process of editing in which negotiation and compromise took place, resulted in no clear winner and loser in the hip-hop activities that were enacted within these youth work sites of practice. The notion of distributed agency thus enabled a consideration of the many actors that shaped hip-hop activities enacted within a youth work site of practice.

Providing a Descriptive Account

The explanations provided in this thesis are contained within the descriptions provided. These descriptions trace the actors that come together to enact a particular assemblage of hip-hop in youth work. Following ANT theorists (Latour, 1995, 2005; Law, 1992) another layer of theory or interpretation has not been added. For example, by following the actors involved in editing hip-hop, it was found that it was not only the youth workers who had a role in deciding how hip-hop was to be configured. The equipment and venue enrolled in the youth trust assemblage, together with the particular alliances of the young people they worked with, also impacted on the hip-hop actors and activities enrolled.

Tracing the actors enlisted in YTE's assemblage showed how the MC's with controversial lyrical content could be enrolled by YTE but not YTA. YTEs alliances with an older age group of young people, along with their alliance with non-human actors that offered privacy from the public, meant hip-hop could be appropriated without editing. This example shows how explanations emerged from describing the network itself without the need to look for additional causes outside of the network (Latour, 1991, pp. 129-130). Moreover, following the actors involved in the successful translation of hip-hop into a youth work activity, as well as situations where this enrolment did not occur,

showed that things might be otherwise. This highlighted the contingency of each assemblage of hip-hop activities.

Enrolment was also traced in another direction: this thesis followed how young people enrolled youth trusts into their own hip-hop network. It was revealed that young people's alliances played a role in whether they enrolled a youth trust network into their network or not. The power of the youth trust-hip-hop network to enrol young people was seen to derive partly from the hip-hop resources, both human and non-human, that they could offer that was missing from the young people's hip-hop network. In the case of youth driven activities, young people combined the actors they were already in alliance with with those they enrolled from the youth trust network to access these actors. This was seen for example in Chapter Four, where the b-boys/b-girls were shown to enrol a youth trust's resources alongside other actors. These examples of youth driven hip-hop activities confirm the view that young people may still engage with a youth organisation even if it offers a less than ideal array of resources (Davies, 2005). They also show that young people will not necessarily choose to engage in a youth work network if they are better resourced elsewhere. This connects with the perspective that young people have limited power to choose to withdraw from a youth work assemblage if they lack access to an alternative set of resources (Davies, 2010).

This research highlighted the complexity of the task of providing young people with resources compatible with their hip-hop needs by tracing the assemblage of anti-anti-programmes to youth enrolment. It was found that detecting a youth interest in hip-hop was not always enough to configure an activity that would result in youth enrolment. Discussions contained within Chapters Three, Four, Five and Seven highlighted the importance of enlisting or mobilising specific non-human actors so to assemble actors and activities of interest to young people invested in particular forms of hip-hop activity. Chapter Five, for example, showed that the task of configuring a hip-hop activity of interest to young people was not as simple as following youth interests alone. The enactment of hip-hop in youth work sites of practice involved actors coming together so that each could pursue certain goods. While at times these goods aligned within enactments of hip-hop as practiced within the local hip-hop community, at other times one actor's goods clashed with others, producing bads. To avoid these bads, hip-hop had

to be translated in ways that suited a variety of actors required to participate in its enactment. In order for it to be appropriated in youth work worlds, editing took place, whereby certain actors and activities were selected and others were edited out through substitution.

Following the various actors that were enrolled to configure a hip-hop-youth work assemblage highlighted how hip-hop assemblages had to be configured in ways that handled the complexity of multiple hip-hop realities. The importance of the ongoing work of refining interest maps was noted in Chapter Three, and further unpacked in the subsequent chapters examining youth enrolment. By following the actors that came together to enrol young people in hip-hop-youth work programmes of action, some of the complexities involved in engaging youth in hip-hop-youth work activities were thus revealed. Further, Chapters Four, Five and Seven illustrated that additional work was required of heterogeneous actors in order to enrol young people in hip-hop-youth work programmes of action. It was not enough to simply produce a hip-hop activity or hip-hop resources of interest to young people. Additional work to make young people interested in passing through the youth trust as an OPP had to take place. Here describing some of the anti-anti-programmes that were formed to enrol young people highlighted further complexities. Not all young people were impacted by the same anti-programmes, and thus youth work networks had to refine interest maps so to configure assemblages to enrol certain groups of young people. Tracing and describing slices of practice involved in the many different forms of anti-anti-programmes across and within youth trusts thus highlighted the complexity of assembling hip-hop activities for young people in youth work worlds

I also followed how youth trusts enlisted the resources needed to enrol young people in hip-hop-youth work activities. Chapters Six and Seven looked at the work that took place to enrol actors attached to these resources, and traced the range of alliances built and mobilised. By tracing the range of actors that could be mobilised to assemble a hip-hop-youth work activity in Chapter Six, the ways in which a youth trust could avoid being constrained from providing a hip-hop activity through a lack of government funder enrolment were explained. Tracing and describing the actors that hold each other in place to successfully assemble a hip-hop activity highlights how ANT's empirical

descriptive approach can replace the need for an additional interpretation or theory to explain how hip-hop is assembled.

Following the approach of other ANT theorists, the explanations provided in this thesis are acknowledged as being confined to the particular network under consideration. Practices developed by and within specific sets of socio-material webs of relations were not assumed to transfer to another situation. The inappropriateness of offering generalisable recommendations is highlighted by the specificity of hip-hop-youth work enrolment assemblages both within and across the youth trusts in this study. What worked for one group of young people, and at one point in time, was found to be subject to change in a different situation, or with a different set of young people. Offering descriptions of slices of practice therefore provides a means to attend to some of the mess of social reality (Law, 2004). As such, these findings are of value to those wishing to use or looking to refine how they use hip-hop in their work with youth. This study has highlighted a need for human service workers to be aware of the diversity of hip-hop interests they may work with, and the different configurations that can take place to resource hip-hop activities. The creative means that the youth trusts in this study took to handle hip-hop controversies as well as resource their activities, may provide ideas for others working with youth wishing to support youth culture interests. The detail provided in the descriptions of slices of practice may enable those with an interest in utilising hip-hop to assess what strategies may be applicable to their own situation.

Following the Flexibility of Hip-Hop-Youth Work Assemblages

Drawing on the ANT sensibility of relationality (Law & Singleton, 2013) together with the concept of translation (Latour, 1991), I was able to illuminate the flexibility of hip-hop-youth work assemblages. Youth work-hip-hop networks were shown to incorporate a lot of change. This was revealed through following the reconfiguring of assemblages, as actors were added or replaced in efforts to enact hip-hop-youth work activities. This research confirms the widely held perception of youth work as a practice that requires flexibility on the part of youth workers and the organisations they work for (Davies, 2005; Davies & Merton, 2009; Jeffs & Smith, 2010). Chapter Three highlighted the ways

in which hip-hop-youth work activities evolved in line with youth interests, as youth workers refined their interest maps of activities that were of cultural relevance to young people. This chapter also showed how youth work-hip-hop networks were not static or fixed, as, even when the same hip-hop activities were provided, these were subject to shifts in constituent actors and practices over time, such as music and fashion.

The reconfiguration of hip-hop-youth work assemblages often involved enlisting actors that would help enrol other needed actors. The material presented in Chapter Four showed how hip-hop-youth work assemblages evolved over time as new enrolment strategies were devised as different anti-programmes were encountered. The need for youth work networks to be adaptable and replace actors in response to changes in their webs of relations (Latour, 1991; Law & Singleton, 2013) was seen in Chapter Six, which followed the securing of funding. This was explored more fully in Chapter Seven when following how YTE responded to shifts in the capacities of actors within its network. Chapter Seven explored the flexibility of actors as YTE's hip-hop-youth work assemblages were reconfigured post-earthquakes, and showed that the continuation of a hip-hop network was contingent upon young people (and their non-human allies), community partner organisations, and funders, working together in new ways. These changes were reliant upon the successful translation of actors into their new roles within the network.

Taking on the ANT sensitivity to the “unfolding and uncertain character of the world” (Law & Singleton, 2013, p. 490), this study highlighted that things do not always unfold as predicted by the human actors. Following hip-hop networks as they evolved showed how the configuration of hip-hop-youth work assemblages was emergent, rather than a result of the implementation of one set of human actors' plans. Youth work actors engaged in negotiations with and responded to feedback from a range of heterogeneous actors. Changes to interest maps that guided the reconfiguring of assemblages through the addition or replacement of actors were seen to occur as feedback was encountered through both successful and unsuccessful translation attempts. In addition, experimenting with the ANT concept of tinkering revealed how the editing of hip-hop was a collective undertaking. It was shown that hip-hop was both multiple and fluid, with many activities able to be translated within youth work webs of relations while still

maintaining a hip-hop identity. The findings of this study are consistent with the commonly held view that hip-hop is an adaptable culture that can be appropriated in many different ways and exist in many different forms (George, 2003; Rose, 2008). However, this study also followed the limitations of this flexibility of hip-hop networks. It was also noted that some hip-hop activities failed to be assembled or failed to re-assemble within a youth trust network.

Inquiring into Multiplicity

In presenting the material uncovered in this research, I have also drawn on sensibilities from after-ANT that allow ambiguities and complexities in social reality to be explored and documented. Mol's (2002, 2010) work on the multiplicity of reality guided analysis of the complexities inherent in the relationships between different hip-hop realities. Rather than being limited by working within an evaluation framework, this research has opened up and examined the complex relationships between goods and bads within hip-hop-youth work activities. Rose (2008) identifies a dualistic character to the debates around hip-hop and calls for a widening of the conversation. This study contributes to this wider conversation by considering how hip-hop can be enacted in many different ways, each enacting different sets of goods and bads.

When hip-hop is understood as multiple, that is, enacted in co-existing yet differing versions through different sets of socio-material practices, what particular hip-hop reality is enacted in a youth work site becomes a matter of ontological politics (Mol, 1999). Discussion within this thesis has highlighted that what may be deemed good by one set of actors may be considered bad by another. Although the goal has not been to evaluate activities or provide prescriptions for practice, examining how tensions between different goods and bads were handled provides insights that may be helpful for improving hip-hop-youth work practices. As Mol (2006) proposes,

This, then, might be our contribution as researchers: that we unravel tensions, articulate them, and cast them in the words that allow them to travel—so that they may be more widely reflected on (p. 412).

The unravelling of tensions thus constitutes a key contribution to the state of knowledge that can impact on future tinkering or editing of youth work-hip-hop practices.

The written document that is this thesis must also be considered as an intervention in hip-hop-youth work realities. Law and Singleton (2013) explain:

For descriptions in social science don't just describe. They describe in particular ways. This means that they are performative, that they license particular ways of seeing or frameworks, whilst rendering other less visible and less sustainable (p. 500).

At the same time, Law and Singleton (2013) point out that the difference any account makes "will always be unknowable in its entirety" (p. 486).

This thesis itself is an enactment that seeks to destabilise stereotypes of hip-hop. I have presented realities that are frequently marginalised in media and literature accounts. By presenting slices of hip-hop practice that young people were engaged in within youth trusts, I have shown that hip-hop can be enacted in ways that are not associated with gangs, crime, drugs or misogyny. Attending to underrepresented realities is itself a political act, as it both strengthens these, and circulates them to readers who may otherwise remain unaware of these sets of practices (Mol, 2002).

Entering and Exiting Networks

This thesis offers a partial account, or what Mol (2008) calls snapshots, of the actors and practices involved in the assemblage of hip-hop activities within certain sites of youth work practice. These snapshots are a reflection of where I entered the network, and are a product of the dictates of providing a detailed descriptive account to explore the subtleties of the micro-interactions that occur between actors. In place of identifying broad patterns of action across contexts, this study embraced the ANT goal of unpacking how actors impact on each other in specific interactions (Fenwick, 2010, 2011). As a consequence of cultivating the ANT sensibility in this study of hip-hop and youth work, this study's findings open up many possibilities for future research. The following discussion considers some of the many networks that could be followed further. It also ends the thesis by laying a foundation for considering the ever-evolving nature of the networks in which hip-hop-youth work activities and events are enacted, by detailing some of the changes seen in post-quake Christchurch after the fieldwork for this thesis had ceased. The conclusion is thus intentionally left "open" and unfinished to represent the ongoing shifts in associations between actors, and the questions this raises for the consequent development or cessation of hip-hop-youth work activities in the city. The ending is written this way so to reflect the ANT processes of entering and exiting the field, where it is recognised that the field continues to exist and evolve after the researcher's departure.

As was explored in Chapter Two, the ANT method of following requires choices to be made by the researcher as to when to enter and exit the network (Law & Singleton, 2013). While the researcher enters at one point, through the process of following the actors the researcher ends at another. These exit points provide ample research possibilities for following hip-hop-youth work networks further. Law and Singleton (2013) note that any ANT study, if it is to do justice to the slices of practice it studies, can only bring some specificities into focus, leaving other actors ignored or left as black boxes. This thesis uncovered many actors that could be further unpacked and followed. For instance, Chapter Six highlighted the role of documents to act as immutable mobiles, enabling youth trusts to circulate knowledge around their activities to accrue legitimacy

and funds. Another ANT study could follow the documents as they travelled to these sites and were handled in meetings. Studies could also follow the role of documents in more informal funding negotiations, such as the emails that helped negotiate business sponsorship arrangements.

Many networks could have been followed further, and their constituent socio-material practices described. While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to focus on the assemblage of hip-hop goods, as Appendix One shows, young people and youth workers alike identified many goods. The ANT approach, employed by the likes of Gomart and Hennion (1999), and Denora (1999; 2003), could be used to unpack the workings of hip-hop assemblages that produced youth development goods for participants, such as empowerment, belonging, and confidence. While hip-hop goods have been noted in the literature (e.g. Tyson & Baffour, 2004; Henderson, 2010; Tamati, 2004), how they emerge, and how they can be cultivated has been left largely unexplored. Future research could also inquire into the complex relationship between different hip-hop goods. The messy relationships between different sets of goods sought by youth workers, youth trusts, and funding bodies could be followed to look at how these goods are co-ordinated and interfere with each other. For instance, the translation of hip-hop-youth work activities into goods sought by funders could be considered in terms of whether and how these enactments of hip-hop impact on hip-hop-youth work practices.

The networks followed were also a product of the timing of my fieldwork. The entry point for this study saw mostly dance activities followed, as the ongoing seismic activity that followed the Christchurch earthquakes saw interruptions to other hip-hop activities that would otherwise have been followed in more depth. While this has meant this study has made a contribution towards the more under-documented activities of hip-hop dance (Dimitriadis, 1996; Gibson, 2003; Stevens, 2006), the accounts of music production and graffiti highlighted practices that could be followed in more depth in other sites of youth work practice. There are opportunities to look at how controversies are handled in the other hip-hop elements in a range of youth work sites of practice.

It is also acknowledged that these slices of practice come from a specific time and place. These networks did not cease when I stopped my fieldwork, and they continue to evolve.

This is particularly evident in the changes in communication technologies that have taken place. While this study noted the presence of smart-phones and tablets, these technologies have since become more accessible and widespread. Future ANT research could follow how the enrolment of these actors has impacted youth work practice. This research could look at the role of these technologies in mediating youth work relationships, as well as their mobilisation in youth work evaluation practices. Researchers interested in documenting the local and global connections between hip-hop communities could also use ANT to trace the spread of hip-hop knowledge and practices to explore impacts on how various hip-hop communities and practices are enacted.

ANT and the transitional city.

Change is also evident in the city of Christchurch. As I write this conclusion, YTE has reassembled in new ways, securing an HQ venue near the inner city. However, its ability to fully enrol this venue in its network is currently uncertain. Lease costs have risen, and the funding networks YTE works within have changed again. The funding that was ubiquitous post-quake has dried up for those not providing services to those most “in need”. While youth space and recreation needs have been recognised (CERA, 2014b), funding has yet to be provided outside of small projects by CERA and government, and business sponsors (see CERA, 2014a). YTE is still relying on sharing their space and collaborating with a variety of groups in the city to make this a viable assemblage. The reconfigured city that is Christchurch thus offers many opportunities to follow how youth trusts can meet the needs of young people as new challenges arise. These challenges occur at the same time as new opportunities for youth input into the creation of the city’s new recreation and arts spaces emerge. New attitudes to young people’s input into the city have been noted (CERA 2014c; Oi YOU!, 2014). This is already evident in the reclaiming of the city as a future youth space through city officials and businesses commissioning graffiti street art, to inject colour and the unexpected onto the blank walls and spaces left by the widespread demolition of earthquake damaged buildings in the city (Oi YOU!, 2014). Research guided by an ANT sensibility offers many tools to undertake the task of following a city undergoing vast socio-material change.

I have been immersed in an ANT-informed study of hip-hop-relevant “people” and “things” for the past few years, and am aware that I now tend to read the world through this lens. As a researcher with an ANT sensibility, I am attentive to how people interact with new assemblages of people and things. While there are still large areas of bare land and many broken buildings in the Christchurch CBD, I am aware that when I visit the CBD my focus is on the ways in which these things are being used as a canvas for at least two hip-hop elements: graffiti and dance.

It seems fitting to close this thesis with several snapshot-stories and pictures of post-quake Christchurch. The pictures that follow (see Figures 8.1– 8.7) illustrate the re-assembling that is still taking place as I write this thesis. Road cones, gates, and shipping containers still populate much of the inner city, and many buildings are being demolished. In the blank spaces that remain the buildings and vacant lots are being used as a blank canvas. Graffiti pieces, enlisted as temporary substitute actors, work to create visual interest in place of the many missing buildings in the city.



Figure 8.1. Sanctioned graffiti in Christchurch’s inner city, 2014.

Empty lots are also being used for transitional community projects through partnerships between the CCC, community groups, and business (Christchurch City Council, 2014). Low cost, mundane “things”, such as pallets, shipping containers, and old white ware appliances, are being mobilised onto vacant lots to generate these community spaces, which in turn mobilise people back into the inner city. This is illustrated by recent initiatives that provided spaces amenable to (although not exclusively intended for) youth hip-hop dance performances and jams. The dance-o-mat (a play on Laundromat), was an outdoor dance space, created through the addition of a concrete dance floor together with a coin operated lighting and sound system (courtesy of a converted washing machine) to a vacant lot. This provided a space for groups of hip-hop dancers to jam. The Festival of Transitional Architecture (FESTA) held a carnival night in the inner city that featured large light installations made from objects such as road cones and plastic bottles. These assemblages of people and things transformed blank inner-city spaces into a vibrant evening carnival with pop up shops, cafes, a youth dance venue, and a dance performance space. Youth trusts and their young people were vital actors in creating these spaces and performances, participating alongside other Christchurch community groups. ANT provides an ideal set of sensibilities for documenting the transitional city.



Figure 8.2. Graffiti both sanctioned and unsanctioned is a common feature in Christchurch's inner city, 2014.



Figure 8.3. Sanctioned and unsanctioned graffiti evident in Christchurch's inner city, 2014.



Figure 8. 4 “Pop up” businesses, such as this Mexican food outlet replace many of the permanent businesses in the inner city.



Figure 8. 5. Light installations at FESTA, September 2014.



Figure 8.6. A hip-hop dance crew performs at FESTA.



Figure 8. 7. An earthquake memorial mural by local graffiti artists.

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Appendix One: Enacting Hip-Hop Goods

This Appendix provides additional examples of the complex relationships between hip-hop goods and bads to supplement the overview given in Chapter Five. It provides an overview of common hip-hop goods identified in the literature, and by participants in this study. Assembled with an ANT lens, this Appendix unpacks some of the slices of practice associated with these hip-hop goods to show how these are reliant on the inclusion or exclusion of particular actors.

Assembling a voice from the margins.

Rap music has been attributed as facilitating the enactment of resistance and political expression (Clay, 2006; Dyson, 1993; Rose, 1994; Pough, 2004; Shomari, 1995). Some rap music assemblages are overtly political, enacting pro-black politics, addressing specific social issues relating to racial oppression (Decker, 1994; Dimitriadis, 1996; Zemke-White, 2000). Rappers such as KRS-One and Chuck D rap about black pride and black history (Shomari, 1995). The rap group Public Enemy epitomises the use of hip-hop to express Black Nationalist messages of resistance and opposition to white racism, reporting on oppression from a black perspective (Dery, 2004). The lyrics of these self-described “prophets of rage”, tell black people to fight for their human and political rights, and are critical of politicians and the media. (Dery, 2004; Rose, 1994, p. 99). A message of destabilisation is assembled through the enrolment of diverse and often distorted samples, flanked by hard-hitting lyrics, and the shouting of hooks such as “fight the power” (Zemke-White, 2000). Some rappers adopt a less aggressive “conscious” style. Taking inspiration from folk influences, these assemblages comment on urban African American struggles, within music that is softer, and incorporates acoustic instruments (Zemke-White, 2000). More recently, some rappers have incorporated political content through criticising the Bush administration (Ogbar, 2007). For instance, some MCs have used rap to express their outrage at the deficits in the Bush government’s response to Hurricane Katrina. Rappers have also expressed their support for President Obama, including references to his election and samples of his speeches within their music, and including his image on CD covers (Forman, 2010).

Some gangsta rappers also report on social issues that otherwise escape mainstream attention. They do so in stories told from the first person perspective of life in the ghetto. As NWA rapper Ice Cube explained, “We call ourselves underground street reporters” (as cited in Kelly, 2003, p. 120). Lusane (2004) adds, “they detail the unemployment, miseducation, discrimination, homicides, gang life, class oppression, police brutality and regressive gender politics that dominate the lives of many black youth” (p. 357). These stories are non-apologetic and include accounts of committing violence or drug dealing that are not present within other rap assemblages. Some commentators have celebrated the nihilism expressed by some gangsta rappers (De Genova, 1995). Others point out that they “constitute an alternative voice to mainstream journalists and social scientists” (Kelley, 2003, p. 120), and offer education potential for outsiders (Iwamoto, Creswell, & Caldwell, 2007).

Rap music tropes have also been appropriated by marginalised groups outside America as a medium of political expression (Mitchell, 2001a). In New Zealand, local Maori and Polynesian hip-hop artists have assembled hip-hop music that voices their own and previous generations’ struggles against injustice, and promotes pride in their own Pacific or Maori cultural identity (Mitchell, 1996; Zemke-White, 2001). Maori rap artists have assembled rap as a means to engage and educate young people about the importance of preserving their native culture or *Maoritanga* (Mitchell, 2001; Zemke-White, 2000). Further, Maori rappers have incorporated *te reo* (language), *waiata* (song), historical events, and prominent Maori figures into their lyrics, encouraging young people to learn their history and language (Mitchell, 2001; Zemke-White, 2000). Pasifika rap groups also assemble hip-hop music as a source of positive pan-Pacific cultural identity and political expression. They utilise Polynesian rhythms and harmonies in their singing, along with instruments such as log drums and ukuleles. They also include referents to the islands, clothing, family and religion within their rap music, image, and samples, along with referents to their shared past, such as the dawn raids of Pacific overstayers in the 1970s (Zemke-White, 2001). Some New Zealand rap artists utilise aspects of gangsta music tropes, to discuss issues in their personal lives and local community such as fatherlessness, drinking and poverty (Zemke-White, 2005). Rappers such as Smashproof, through their lyrical observations of these realities try, as they say, “to open up the minds of those that live in a below average socio economic [sic]

standard, and to tell them that crime and violence is not your only option" ("Smashproof", 2010).

Political expression through hip-hop assemblages is not always interpreted or positioned as a good (Castleman, 2004; Zemke-White, 2005). What is considered good here is contingent upon the political agenda of the individual reacting to a given hip-hop assemblage. Hip-hop music and practices that challenge certain social institutions and political and economic systems can thus be considered by some as enacting political goods, while simultaneously be perceived by others as bads. Some of the oppositional statements within rap music are perceived as being antagonistic, setting up polarised positions between blacks and whites (Zemke-White, 2000). Assemblages featuring violence and threats to others are the most controversial. For instance, the song "Cop Killer" by Body Count resulted in calls from police to boycott Time Warner products (Zemke-White, 2000, p. 131).

Hip-hop as a voice of the marginalised is not limited to rap music. B-boying and graffiti are often praised for the ways in which they heighten youth presence and challenge social norms (Banes, 1985; Rose, 1994). Graffiti claims space in ways that defy notions of public order as well as understandings of surfaces in public space as owned by individuals, and challenges practices that frame art as personal property (Docuayan, 2000; White, 2001). The b-boys and b-girls' practice of dancing on the street itself is often seen as deviant (White & Wyn, 2013). Furthermore, b-boys and b-girls also make aggressive and obscene dance moves and gestures towards each other as part of their dance battles (Banes, 1985; Rose, 1994). These forms of expression, together with the occupation of public space by marginalised young people, has seen these dancers forced to stop their street activities for "disturbing the public peace" (see Banes, 1985; Kopytko, 1986; Rose, 1994, p. 50). And yet, these practices that break conventions can be seen as providing youth with outlets for the expression of solidarity and identity (White & Wyn, 2013, p. 37). This shows how one set of practices can result in goods being enacted for one group, while becoming bads for another (DeNora, 2013; Mol, 2010).

Assembling career aspirations and avenues.

Controversy surrounds rap music as a career aspiration among young people living in America's ghettos (Rose, 2008). Yet it has been suggested that hip-hop webs of relations can empower young people by offering career avenues, or the experiences may enable them to gain the skills, confidence and discipline needed to gain other forms of employment (Blaustein & Peters, 2011; de Roeper & Savelsberg, 2009; Huq, 2007; Pardue, 2004). Some hip-hop commentators claim hip-hop is a form of financial empowerment for artists from low socio-economic groups, who can benefit from the lucrative nature of this art form and related business ventures. However, the commercialisation of hip-hop music based on the "gangsta-pimp-ho trinity" sees many bads enacted, alongside the financial success of these artists (Rose, 2008, p. 5). Here money and the "bling" associated with rap career success are criticised as mobilising young people to enact hip-hop bads, as hip-hop careers without these actors receive less corporate support within the commercial recording industry (see Asante, 2008; Rose, 2008).

However, not all hip-hop careers are as controversial. With hip-hop having become commercialised, opportunities for hip-hop artists to make money from their skills have arisen (Price, 2006). Similar to artists in other art forms, pathways for hip-hop artists who are part of less controversial hip-hop assemblages can be found as freelance artists/contract workers, or as instructors in their given hip-hop art-form (Fogarty, 2009; Pardue, 2004, 2007; Price, 2006). In this study, some youth workers described slices of practice in which attempts were made to enrol young people in these hip-hop career-related activities that avoided the enactment of particular hip-hop bads. Some youth workers in this study talked about how they had supported young people to find employment opportunities using their hip-hop skills. However the youth workers did not work alone. For instance, Mark was part of an assemblage that helped b-boys and b-girls secure paid teaching and performance opportunities. He did so through connecting these young people with actors such as business sponsors,¹⁵² venues to run workshops, as well as documents such as invoices to secure payment. By enlisting these actors, the youth worker thus instigated the configuration of a network that enacted these versions

¹⁵² For a discussion of the relationships negotiated see Chapter Six.

of hip-hop as a form of paid work. These forms of hip-hop happened to be the alternative forms of hip-hop that, unlike commercial rap music, are not often the recipients of significant commercial backing (Rose, 2008).

Through the youth trusts' support of these versions of hip-hop, young people were able to build hip-hop related skills, or gain work with their hip-hop skills. Youth workers, and other actors, thereby enrolled young people into a hip-hop-work programme of action that involved the creation of career aspirations based on hip-hop skills that did not co-produce the gangsta bads enacted in the dominant commercially supported forms of hip-hop: the kinds of bads that have been widely problematized by hip-hop commentators such as Rose (2008).

In addition, some skills from hip-hop have been found to generalise outside of the local hip-hop "scene" into other professions (Docuynan, 2000; Fogarty, 2009, p. 31; Price, 2006). In the current study, hip-hop artists-youth workers talked about hip-hop assemblages offering a foundation for employment in work such as music event production or graphic design. Here, involvement in activities integral to hip-hop arrangements was framed as a place where young people could gain skill sets that opened up broader work opportunities. For instance, MC/youth worker Blake described how through his hip-hop music workshops he aimed to teach young people the skills required to become proficient in music production and/or music event production. In doing so he hoped to equip young people with the skills required to find forms of work both within and outside the hip-hop world that they could combine with their passion for MCing. Assemblages in which young people could develop work-relevant skills, such as those Blake referred to, offered a different set of hip-hop aspirations for young people; aspirations that, unlike the image of the successful rapper surrounded with women and bling, was grounded in the realities of the local hip-hop industry.

Hip-hop assemblages have been attributed with providing young people the opportunities to develop skills that can be transferred to the workplace (Anderson, 2011; Pardue, 2004). As has also been noted in the hip-hop literature (Halsey & Young, 2002; Henderson, 2010; Leafloor, 2012), youth workers and young people in this study discussed the self-discipline and confidence that youth can develop by participating in

hip-hop activities. How such concepts were handled in the assemblage of youth work-hip-hop activities in youth work sites of practice studied in this research is not a focus of this research, but does warrant some consideration.

Although the concepts of self-discipline and confidence are relative and contestable, I use them here because the youth workers in this study made frequent reference to them. The dominance of this jargon, mobilised to communicate the youth trust's "youth development" work, is not surprising given the youth work-hip-hop activities are situated within interconnected webs of relations that require evidence of youth development goods. These concepts therefore refer to a diverse range of hip-hop assemblages from which youth workers observed these goods to have emerged.

Some workers integrated their own personal experience of these hip-hop goods with this youth development discourse to express the goods they wished to recreate for the young people they worked with. They sought to assemble these confidence and self-discipline goods by providing young people with opportunities to become involved in a hip-hop art form. Youth workers without personal experience of hip-hop assemblages also noted that self-discipline and confidence were practiced and developed through a young person's involvement within the production of a hip-hop activity or event. For instance, YTE manager Scott noted that when young people co-set up a hip-hop event with the youth trust, a young person's self-discipline and confidence were co-produced alongside the production of the event itself. Through an ANT lens, these youth development effects can be said to emerge from the young people's interactions with the many people and things in the network assembled to enact the event. As such, confidence and self-discipline were not always the driving factor for the activity being run, but had nevertheless become a way in which youth trust management could explain the value of their work to funders.

It is not surprising therefore that some youth workers noted that these goods had emerged unintentionally through their hip-hop-youth work assemblages. For instance, Aroha described how she was surprised at the confidence gained from the members of the dance crews she entered into a dance competition as part of her attempts to gain exposure for her dance studio. Gomart and Hennion (1999) and DeNora (1999; 2003)

note people attempt to re-create effects that emerge through socio-material assemblages, by bringing together similar actors on a subsequent occasion. Following the beneficial impact of this dance competition event, Aroha attempted to recreate the experience for other young people by forming more dance crews and attempting to enter more competitions. This decision could also have been influenced by the positive response she and the youth trust received from funders. The youth trust administrators reported receiving positive feedback from funders when they shared the dance crew “success story” with funding bodies using this youth development language. Thus, concepts of self-confidence and self-esteem can be seen as black boxes, or abbreviations, used by youth trusts’ youth workers and administrators to refer to many different arrangements of people and things in which these effects emerge.

An example of the interaction between both human and non-human actors that enable confidence and self-discipline to emerge is evident in the assemblage of actors that come together within hip-hop performance events. The hip-hop artists in Henderson’s (2010) study of the hip-hop community in Wellington, New Zealand, described how learning, mastering and performing hip-hop skills saw hip-hop artists develop a sense of confidence and achievement. Their comments mirror those made by young people and youth workers in the current study. For example, b-boy Lewis stated:

For example when you cypher, like that party that we went to, we were just jamming, and then you get the most cheers, it’s awesome, it’s a feel good thing. But when there is a prize at the end of it and you want it, you have got to go through the judges. Sometimes it is also like the recognition and who gives it, is it the crowd who goes, ‘wow that’s cool, he did a flip’ or the guy who has been doing it for a while who goes ‘I actually give that guy respect’. When a guy that you respect gives you respect that is something else as well.

Hip-hop assemblages such as cyphers, battles and competitions, were credited with providing the individual with an opportunity in which to challenge themselves and test their hip-hop abilities. Combining actors such as other artists and crews, as well as judges, awards, and an audience, these assemblages provide feedback as to the quality of a hip-hop performance. Henderson (2010) calls this a “community of critique” (p. 16),

and argues it is this aspect of hip-hop that allows young people to learn how to handle criticism and develop confidence in their abilities, something also noted by youth workers and hip-hop artists in my study.

Assembling and performing self-expression.

Hip-hop is often celebrated as a form of self-expression (Afriedon & Abrahams, 2006; Lipsitz, 1994). Since its inception, hip-hop has been said to provide a means of artistic freedom to express oneself (Alvarez, 2012), something that the hip-hop artists, such as Joshua, reiterated:

Like you see the most joy that anybody has, because they are expressing themselves how they want to be expressed, you know what I mean. So someone might be really angry and do a lot of really intense footwork on the ground and that's them showing what they have been through, you know what I mean.

Mirroring discussion in some youth work literature, young people in this study described how they engage in hip-hop practices as a form of self-expression and emotional regulation (Iwamoto, Creswell, & Caldwell, 2007; de Roeper & Salvesberg, 2009, p. 222; Tamati, 2004). Many hip-hop artists explained how in practising their hip-hop element they experienced forms of escapism, where they could “de-stress”, and enact a form of “relaxation”, some even describing it as a form of “meditation” or “spiritual” experience, with many describing states of flow or losing oneself in the moment. Some described how they engaged in hip-hop activity as a means of catharsis, where hip-hop enabled them to express and diffuse negative emotions. For instance, Joshua described how when creating a dance move, “your anger flows out and you are left ‘ahh’ relaxed and free of it”. In this way, hip-hop was viewed as a means for channelling emotions that may otherwise be translated into physical violence, or other destructive behaviours or bads.

Self-expression can also be achieved within assemblages of musical samples and lyrics within hip-hop music making, and the images and symbols, and marks made by graffiti writers. Hip-hop is often celebrated as a form of youth creativity, “producing something

out of nothing”, realising the creative and expressive potential of actors, as youth assembled the means to make music, dance, and art, with the limited materials at their disposal (George, 1985; Leafloor, 2012; Toop, 2000). For example, the human body of the dancer along with cardboard or vinyl for flooring allowed dance to take place without formal lessons; the DJ turned the music player into an instrument by realising the potential of creating a new form of music by bringing together turntables, a mixer and obscure records; and graffiti artists translated spray cans and marker pens into art works using the surfaces in their environment (Leafloor, 2012; Rose, 1994; 2008; Toop, 2000).

DeNora (1999, 2000, 2003) considers how the means by which music is appropriated leads it to act as a resource in mediating a particular effect sought by the individual mobilising it. DeNora (1999, 2000, 2013) builds on Gomart and Hennion’s (1999) work on music as a mediator to look at emotional regulation in everyday settings as well as in therapeutic settings. For example, in De Nora’s study, music therapists mobilise music alongside other actors to facilitate situations that can induce certain experiences for the patients (DeNora, 2013). Similarly, youth worker-hip-hop artists in the current study attempted to configure hip-hop assemblages in which young people would experience the goods of self-expression and emotional regulation. Likewise, young people themselves sought out resources to assemble what Gomart and Hennion (1999) term “techniques of preparation” to achieve these experiences.

The complexity of goods and bads being simultaneously enacted meant some forms of escapism and expression were edited within youth work worlds. Participants in my study explained how in some hip-hop music and graffiti scenes, expression and escape were often sought in association with drug and alcohol actors. Similarly, engaging in graffiti, as a form of catharsis and expression was not necessarily a good, as it could be seen as destructive. Those engaged in more informal hip-hop events, such as dance parties, also sought to include drugs and alcohol. Thus, these controversial assemblages resulted in tensions between goods and bads that required compromise on behalf of young people when enacting hip-hop within a youth work assemblage.

Establishing community connections.

Hip-hop is often described as a culture that unites people from various communities together, where a hip-hop identity is seen to override identities of difference (Henderson, 2010; MacDonald, 2005; McDonald, 1999; Scott, 1985). In the current study, hip-hop was credited by youth workers and hip-hop artists alike as offering young people a means to connect with others and gain a sense of connectedness. These goods are facilitated by young people's joint participation in a hip-hop network. Here, as seen in Chapter Four, non-human actors, such as clothing and music, facilitate connections between human participants (Jerolmack & Tavory, 2014). As one youth worker in my study observed:

Like the clothes you wear, the language you speak, the way you act, the things you do, the music you listen to, the events you like going to, it all brings that sense of belonging and acceptance as well.

Similarly, the hip-hop artists in Henderson's (2010) study related stories of instant acceptance by other hip-hop artists in their hip-hop community, attributed to the common ground provided by hip-hop.

Hip-hop artists also describe a sense of being part of a global hip-hop community. Many diverse technological and material actors mobilise and facilitate such connections and sense of community. Mass media actors such as films, books, magazines, music, as well as television stories, circulate knowledge of hip-hop practices across local borders (Chang, 2005; Docuynan, 2000; Price, 2006; Stevens, 2006; Travis, 2013). In addition, sets of hip-hop practices and knowledge are mobilised and debated in forms of media available through the internet, such as YouTube, and online hip-hop communities (Fogarty, 2010; Gibson, 2003; Zemke-White, 2004). As a result of this building of a repertoire of shared practices (Becker & Faulkner, 2009), hip-hop artists can perform or compete with each other, even if they have never met or do not speak the same language (Fogarty, 2010; Henderson, 2010). This was evident at a b-boy competition I observed. A b-boy visiting from Germany was able to enter and win the competition without having ever danced in the New Zealand b-boy scene. Artists themselves also travel, taking their particular hip-hop configurations to other locales where they perform and

teach (Henderson, 2010; Fogarty, 2010). Hip-hop knowledge and practices can be exchanged during these interactions between artists, seeing repertoires expand and evolve (Fogarty, 2010).

Non-human actors play an important role in enabling these connections to take place. Actors that are of importance include those that allow spaces for interactions between participants (Henderson, 2010). Common physical spaces include those used to hold practices and battles, such as domestic lounges and garages; public parks and squares; parking lots; school and community halls; auditoriums; dance studios; and youth centres. Some of these spaces are also used to hold international events and workshops with guest New Zealand-based or international artists (Henderson, 2010). Other spaces include those mediated by internet technology that allows hip-hop forums, such as Hiphopnz.com, to promote the discussion of hip-hop tropes and history. These technologies are increasingly being utilised to connect artists from around New Zealand and from around the world. For instance, Gibson (2003) notes how community members “can gather and share opinions about what it means to ‘be’ Hip-Hop that spill over into events and performances in the everyday” (p. 52). Nowadays, the increasing use of social media and YouTube allow further forms of performance, communication and connection between participants.

However, to engage in an alternative set of hip-hop practices can make it hard to maintain connections with an established hip-hop community. For instance, Shane, a graffiti artist in the current study, described how his attempt to avoid marijuana and damaging property meant he could no longer engage in local community graffiti practices. As a result, he found it hard to maintain connections with the other graffiti artists, as bonding opportunities were scarce. The hip-hop goods or bads sought or avoided by hip-hop artists thus sees stronger connections formed between people seeking to enact the same hip-hop-socio-material arrangements, resulting in various hip-hop communities within the broader hip-hop community.

Providing good alternatives to bad activities.

Within the youth work context, hip-hop assemblages have the potential to provide alternative webs of relations to anti-social, risky, or criminal activities. Young people have reported that involvement in a hip-hop activity provided an alternative to being bored on the streets, drinking, taking drugs, crime and/or being involved in gangs (Bishop, 2008; Rowe & Hutton, 2012; Tamati, 2004). From her interviews with young people invested in hip-hop dance, Bishop (2008) argues that the goods experienced within hip-hop community and activity involvement are similar to those derived through participation in a youth gang. The goods, such as a sense of purpose, self-expression, respect, and a sense of belonging that emerge through these hip-hop assemblages are thus considered to replace the need young people may have for gang membership. Indeed, Martin (2002) suggests that youth workers should support youth participation in youth cultures, as these may be the only worlds in which they are a part where they experience success. This argument is reiterated by Scott (1985) and Koptenko (1986) in regards to the popularity of hip-hop with Maori and Pacific youth in New Zealand. They document the sense of purpose, confidence and belonging young people were able to achieve through their participation and achievement within hip-hop activities.

Furthermore, some hip-hop goods are irreconcilable with criminal activity. The increase in opportunities for international competitions and performance sees artists having to avoid gaining a criminal conviction. Youth workers in the current study said they used this fact to motivate young people to consider not engaging in criminal activities. Enacting hip-hop as an alternative to anti-social or risky behaviours is of course dependent on how hip-hop is enacted. As has been shown, hip-hop can be practiced in ways that enact various bads associated with anti-social, risky and criminal behaviours. However, there are options. For instance, young people have the choice to partake in graffiti webs of relations that may result in a criminal conviction, or they may enact graffiti legally in ways that then enable them to travel and experience graffiti within legal hip-hop performance and competition environments.

